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JOSEPH STALIN

STALIN AND THE WORLD PROLETARIAT . G. DIMITROFF

THEORETICIAN OF COMMUNISM . . D. Z. MANUILSKY

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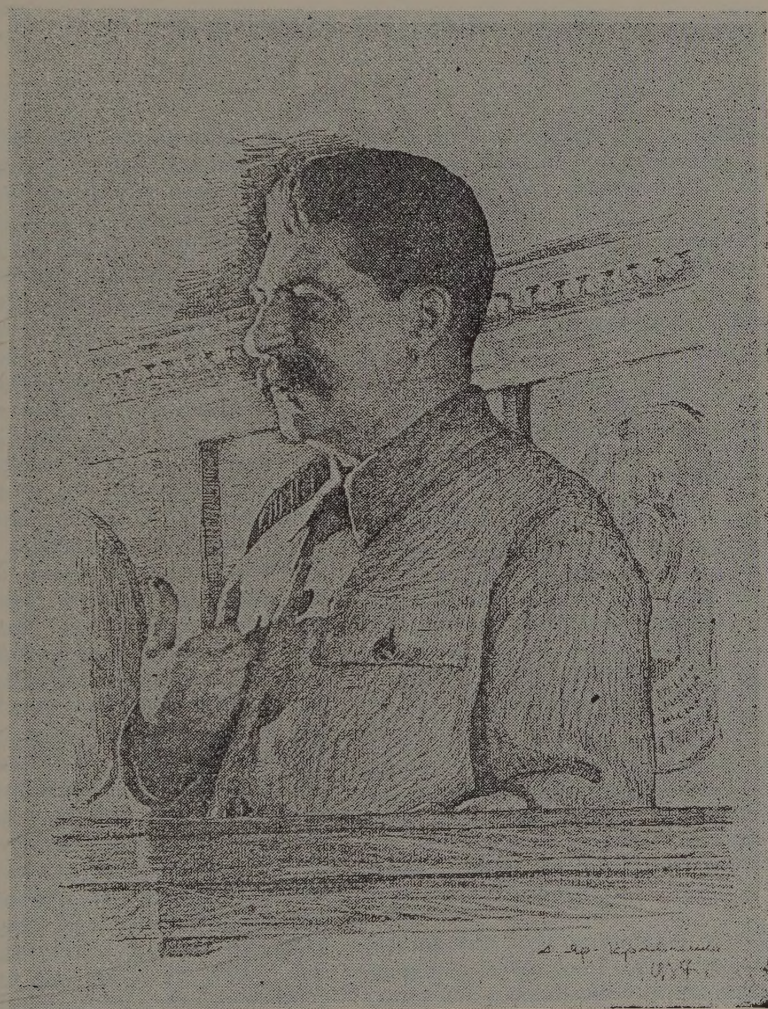
EDITOR: EARL BROWDER

JANUARY

1940

The Voice of Lenin	5
Stalin and the World Proletariat	<i>Georgi Dimitroff</i> . 13
The Great Theoretician of Communism	<i>D. Z. Manuilsky</i> . 25
Stalin, Leader of Peoples, Man of the Masses	<i>Dolores Ibarruri</i> (<i>Pasionaria</i>) . . 36
The Man of a New Epoch	<i>Peter Wieden</i> . . 45
Anglo-American Contradictions in the Second Imperialist War	<i>E. Varga</i> . . . 56
Citrine Resorts to the Muzzle	<i>W. Leitner</i> . . . 65
Austria and Anglo-French Imperialism	<i>F. Schilling</i> . . 68
Light on Moscow	<i>E. Little</i> . . . 76

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JOSEPH STALIN

THE VOICE OF LENIN

IN THE first imperialist world slaughter, it was Lenin's voice that rose above the cries of war with growing persistence and proclaimed the historic task before the revolutionary workers. Lenin and his Party rallied around themselves the boldest, most conscious and revolutionary forces of the international working class. Lenin and his Party created a new, genuinely proletarian and really revolutionary International which organized the struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed toilers in all countries against bloodthirsty imperialism.

Lenin departed from us sixteen years ago, but his teachings, his spirit and his work are alive and will continue to live. Lenin's teachings, creative Marxism-Leninism, which Comrade Stalin has developed further, have become part of the flesh and blood of the revolutionary vanguard of the international working class and they are taking hold of increasing masses of oppressed toilers. Lenin's spirit, embodied with such unblemished greatness in his colleague and comrade-in-arms, Comrade Stalin, inspires the daily work of the Bolshevik Party and expresses itself in a thousand ways in the heroic struggle of the Communists. Under the faithful care and firm leadership of Stalin, Lenin's work, the socialist Soviet Union, has

developed powerfully and stands before the workers and toilers of all countries as the granite rock on which they build their hopes and in which they have a constant source of strength. It is this imperishable work of Lenin's which Comrade Stalin characterized in the following words:

"The greatness of Lenin lies, first of all, in the fact that he, by creating the Republic of Soviets, showed by deeds to the oppressed masses of the whole world that hope for emancipation is not lost, that the rule of the landlords and capitalists will not last long, that the kingdom of labor *can* be created by the efforts of the toilers themselves, that the kingdom of labor must be created on *earth* and not in heaven. By that he inflamed the hearts of the workers and peasants of the whole world with the hope of liberation. This explains the fact that the name of Lenin has become a name most beloved to the toilers and the exploited masses." (Joseph Stalin, *Lenin*, p. 17, International Publishers, New York.)

If in the first imperialist world slaughter it was only the voices of Lenin and a small band of his most faithful comrades-in-arms that rose above the roar of cannon and the infernal war propaganda, these voices have been multiplied a mil-

lion-fold today. It is no longer a small band of unswerving revolutionaries hounded by the beasts of reaction that is stigmatizing the second imperialist war and organizing the struggle against it. It is the great Communist world party that is raising its voice against war and reaction, in the spirit of Lenin and Stalin, in the spirit of its leading section, the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, showing the masses the way out of the inferno of war. And its voice is rendered irresistible by world historic events themselves, by the victories of socialism in the Soviet Union, and by the horrible results of imperialist rule in the countries of capitalism. And no power in the world can drown out this rousing, revolutionary language of facts or prevent the maturing understanding of the toilers in all countries that *they must follow Lenin if they want to win*, that they will pay the price of endless misery if they close their ears to Lenin's voice.

It is part of the character of the present as well as the past imperialist war to drive all the contradictions to a head, to call forth decisive changes in the social relation of forces, to constitute the fundamental test not only for all states but also for all parties, to compel everyone to show his colors and take a stand. The war must unconditionally "call forth among the masses the most turbulent feelings which disturb the usual somnolent state of mentality." (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. V, p. 147.) Relentlessly, war draws the line of

separation between what is dying out and what is newly arising, between what is decaying and what is vigorously developing.

"The experiences of the war, like the experiences of every crisis in history, of every great calamity and every sudden turn in human life, stun and break some people, *but they enlighten and harden others*; and, taken on the whole, taking the history of the whole world, the number and strength of the latter, except in individual cases of the decline and fall of this or that state, have proved to be greater than that of the former." (*Ibid.*, p. 176.)

Thus, the first imperialist war already revealed on the one hand the decay, decline and betrayal of the Second International, but on the other hand the emergence of the Communist Parties from the midst of the revolutionary working class, while a great, irresistible, far-reaching process of enlightenment, hardening and consolidation set in. In the first imperialist war, opportunism turned into repulsive social-chauvinism and the Second International proved to be a willing tool of the bourgeoisie. Lenin made it clear to the workers who were dismayed by the betrayal of the Second International that repulsive social-chauvinism was and is nothing more than fully matured opportunism.

"Social-chauvinism is opportunism which has ripened to such a degree . . . that it is impossible to tolerate the existence of *such a trend within the Social-Democratic Labor Parties.*" (*Ibid.*, p. 210.)

In the present imperialist war, the opportunism of the Social-Democratic leaders has again become unrestricted chauvinist war propaganda. This bourgeois infection, continuing unremittingly in the labor movement, has again erupted as a result of the war. The Second International has discarded even the thin "Marxist" veneer with which it had covered itself up to the war, and individual Social-Democratic lackeys of the bourgeoisie are proposing to give up not only the last conventional memory of Marxism but also the red flag and the International in order completely to attire themselves in the colors of their capitalist masters.

On the other hand, a deep-going process of turning away from Social-Democracy is beginning among the masses of toilers, with Social-Democracy less and less able to conceal its counter-revolutionary character. Lenin's voice is becoming more and more audible to the masses, the clear, strong *voice of truth* which spoke up already in the first imperialist war, characterizing the nature of imperialism, the war incendiaries and their Social-Democratic lackeys, and proclaiming before the working class its historic task and its historic victory.

When Lenin first came before the workers in the first imperialist war with his irrefutable analysis of imperialism, the real causes of war and the driving forces of war, when he showed them the way out of the inferno of war, he had already laid the preliminary revolutionary foundation. In the struggle against

all opportunist distortions, falsification and vulgarization, he guarded the revolutionary theory of Marxism and developed it creatively. In the struggle against opportunism, he deepened and extended the Marxist understanding of the revolutionary role of the proletariat. In the struggle against opportunism, he created the *Party of a new type*, the Bolshevik Party, which was able to prepare the proletariat for decisive battles against the bourgeoisie and to organize the victory of the proletarian revolution.

When the imperialist war broke out and overwhelmed the ill-prepared working class, when Social-Democracy in all countries solidarized with "their" bourgeoisie and called the war a "war for democracy," a "war of national liberation," Lenin went "against the stream" and exposed the real content and meaning of the war: territorial annexations and subjugation of foreign nations; ruin the competing nation, plunder its wealth, distract the attention of the toiling masses from the internal political crises of the belligerent states, disunite the working class and stupefy them with nationalism, and exterminate its vanguard.

"... In order to fool the proletariat and distract its attention from the only real war of liberation, namely, civil war against the bourgeoisie both of 'its own' and 'foreign' countries, in order to further this lofty aim, the bourgeoisie of each country strives, by means of lying phrases about patriotism, to extol the significance of 'its own'

national war and to assert that it strives to vanquish the enemy, not for the sake of plundering and seizing territory, but for the sake of 'liberating' all other peoples, except its own." (*Ibid.*, pp. 124-125.)

In his masterpiece, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," Lenin laid bare the roots of the war and taught the working class to understand the *nature* of the imperialist world system. In the very first imperialist World War, the social-chauvinists tried to give a "theoretical" justification for openly going over to the bourgeoisie by painting a pretty picture of imperialism, by releasing monopoly capital from any responsibility for the war and by prattling about a so-called "super-imperialism," about development toward a capitalist "world trust" which would be able to resolve all imperialist contradictions by "peaceful" means. Today, all these wares of the Second International are again fetched out. There is really no Anglo-French imperialism, they innocently maintain; the capitalists are in no way responsible for the war, only Germany is disrupting world peace and when Germany is defeated, the peoples will be liberated and blessed by the most peaceful and paternal "super-imperialism" in the form of the "United Democratic States."

In his masterpiece on imperialism, Lenin gave the final, convincing answer to all these lies which are no longer original today. After a superb analysis of imperialism as the rule of predatory monopoly capital, as decaying, moribund capital-

ism, as the eve of the socialist revolution, Lenin showed that:

"Imperialism is the epoch of finance capital and of monopolies, which introduce everywhere the striving for domination, not for freedom. The result is reaction all along the line, whatever the political system, and an extreme intensification of existing antagonisms in this domain also." (*Ibid.*, p. 111.)

The workers of all capitalist countries are today experiencing with painful clarity the truth of these statements. They are experiencing *reaction all along the line*, regardless of the political order in which they live, regardless of whether this order calls itself democratic or fascist. They are experiencing the insane striving for domination which inspires the imperialists so much more, the more they ooze with phrases about freedom. And to all those who snoop around the diplomatic preliminaries that preceded the war in order to "prove" that the "enemy" started the war, Lenin replied:

"Proof of what was the true social, or rather, the true class character of the war is naturally to be found, not in the diplomatic history of the war, but in an analysis of the *objective* position of the *ruling classes* in all belligerent countries. In order to depict this objective position one must not take examples or isolated data (in view of the extreme complexity of social phenomena it is always quite easy to select any number of examples or separate data to prove any point one desires), but the *whole* of the data concerning

the basis of economic life of *all* the belligerent countries and the *whole* world." (*Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.)

In accord with this scientific, profoundly penetrating understanding, Lenin blasted, with deserving contempt, the cheap agitation which would have us believe that a single person, say Wilhelm II, or a single phenomenon of the imperialist system, say German militarism, is exclusively responsible for the war. Imperialism as "a world system of colonial oppression and of the financial strangulation of the overwhelming majority of the people of the world by a handful of 'advanced' countries," imperialism, which is constantly producing gigantic wars for the distribution of the earth, is responsible.

The first imperialist war, as Lenin emphasized, would have broken out even if Germany had been a democratic republic. The real causes of war were and are to be found, not in individual persons, but in the unequal development of capitalism, in the rule of monopoly capital, in the predatory character of the imperialist world system. The disgraceful peace dictates showed clearly that the "democratic" Western Powers did not wage their war against "Kaiserism," that their war aim was not the "liberation" of nations, but domination and loot:

"The Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty, dictated by monarchist Germany, and later on the much more brutal and despicable Versailles Treaty dictated by the 'democratic' repub-

lics of America and France, and also by 'free' England, have rendered very good service to humanity by exposing both the hired coolies of the pen of imperialism and the petty-bourgeois reactionaries, although they call themselves pacifists and socialists, who sang praises to 'Wilsonism' and who insisted that peace and reform were possible under imperialism." (*Ibid.*, p. 9.)

Lenin saw and clearly predicted that the war would inevitably lead to a revolutionary crisis and called upon the revolutionary workers to prepare for this situation and hasten its maturing. He reminded the class-conscious proletariat of its urgent duty "to defend its class unity, its internationalism, its socialist conviction against the unbridled, wild chauvinism of the 'patriotic' bourgeois clique in all countries." He declared with the greatest emphasis that what is involved here is "the undisputed and most fundamental duty of making it clear to the masses that there is a revolutionary situation, of explaining its scope and depth, of arousing the revolutionary consciousness and the revolutionary determination of the proletariat, of helping it to go over to revolutionary actions and to create organizations, corresponding to the revolutionary situation, for activity in this direction." Indefatigably, he reminded the revolutionary workers not to forget their *allies* in the struggle against the imperialist war, against imperialism.

"We would be very poor revolutionaries," he told them, "if, in the great proletarian war for emancipation and socialism, we did not

know how to utilize *every* popular movement against *each separate* disaster caused by imperialism in order to sharpen and extend the crisis." (*Ibid.*, p. 305.)

Lenin regarded the vacillating middle sections, primarily the peasants, and the nationally oppressed masses, primarily the masses in the colonial countries, as the important allies of the working class, the great reserves of the socialist revolution. Twenty years ago, at the Second Congress of the Communist International, Lenin declared:

"The imperialist war has helped the revolution; the bourgeoisie tore soldiers out of the colonies, out of the most backward countries, out of isolation, in order to take part in this imperialist war. The British bourgeoisie dinned into the minds of the soldiers of India that it was the business of the Indian peasants to defend Great Britain against Germany; the French bourgeoisie dinned into the minds of the soldiers of the French colonies that it was the business of the colored people to defend France. . . . The imperialist war has drawn the dependent peoples into world history." (*Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 198.)

And in face of the Irish rebellion against English imperialism in 1916, Lenin drove it home to the revolutionary workers:

"To imagine that social revolution is *conceivable* without revolts by small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without the revolutionary outbursts of a section of the petty bourgeoisie *with all its preju-*

dices, without the movement of non-class conscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against the oppression of the landlords, the church, the monarchy, the foreign nations, etc.—to imagine that means *repudiating social revolution.*" (*Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 303.)

Thus, Lenin saw in the war that shook the foundations of Europe *the deepest crisis of imperialism.* Thus, in the flames of war, he saw the maturing of the *socialist revolution*, and he did everything to prepare the working class for the struggle for power. Viewing all events exclusively from the standpoint of the maturing revolution, mercilessly combating every manifestation of opportunism, and rejecting all inflexible dogmatism, Lenin showed the working class the way out of war and imperialism, the path of revolutionary struggle against capitalism. Led by the Party of Lenin and Stalin, by the Bolshevik Party, the workers of the huge Russian empire followed this path, overthrew capitalism and began to build socialism.

With the great socialist October Revolution, *a new epoch of world history* began, the epoch of proletarian world revolution. With the socialist Soviet state, a new world historical factor made its appearance. Situated between the West and the East, between the center of the financial exploitation of the world and the scene of colonial oppression, the very existence of this mighty country would have a revolutionary effect on the whole world. The international influence of so-

cialism, victorious in one country, was and is enormous.

Try as it might to prevent the victory of the socialist revolution, Social-Democracy in the capitalist states shattered by the war was unable to thwart the all-around support for the young Soviet state by the workers of other countries. *The class conscious workers of the capitalist countries saw and see in the Soviet Union their own cause, the embodiment of their first mighty victory over the imperialist world system.* And the Soviet Union, in every phase of its development, has supported the cause of the international working class. It was and is the most powerful basis for the entire revolutionary movement of the proletariat and all toilers.

Lenin was not only the leader, guide and teacher of the working class and all toilers of the Soviet Union; he was likewise *the leader, guide and teacher of the international revolutionary proletariat.* By his teachings and his example, he showed the toilers of the whole world the way out of misery and slavery, out of war and crises, out of the imperialist world system. By his imperishable creation, the socialist Soviet Union, he gave them not only the great guarantee of victory, but also that firm basis outside the imperialist world system on which the working class could find support in its revolutionary struggles. The imperialist world system *still* exists on five-sixths of the earth. But the world of socialism *already* exists on one-sixth of the earth. Thus, the struggle between exploited and exploiters, be-

tween oppressed and oppressors, has become a struggle *between two worlds*, between the world of capitalism and the world of socialism. The cause of the Soviet Union and the cause of the international revolutionary movement against the imperialist world system are indissolubly connected, are one and the same thing.

Under the bold and wise leadership of Stalin, the socialist Soviet Union, Lenin's imperishable creation, has developed into an impregnable, unshakable, invincible, growing power. On the other hand, the imperialist world system has increasingly entangled itself in its own contradictions and dragged the peoples into a second imperialist war. The toilers of all capitalist countries must pay a terrible price for the betrayal of Social-Democracy which diverted the decisive masses from Lenin's path after the first imperialist war and led them from defeat to defeat toward the second imperialist war. But in this second imperialist war, no one will be able to drown out Lenin's voice and keep the toilers from taking Lenin's path.

Immortally, Lenin marches at the head of the oppressed of all countries. His teachings arouse in them the consciousness of their historic task and the recognition of what is necessary for its fulfilment. His *work* stands before them in the form of the great socialist Soviet Union, and the great Bolshevik Party, tested in battle and experienced in victory.

His genius lives and works in our midst in the person of Stalin, who is truly *the Lenin of our day.* At the

bier of the great Lenin, Comrade Stalin, on behalf of the Party, took the historic vow faithfully to fulfil Lenin's legacy. Comrade Stalin vowed to hold aloft the exalted name of a member of the Party and to keep it pure; to guard the unity of the Party as the apple of his eye; to protect and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat; to strengthen the alliance of the workers and peasants by every means; to strengthen and extend the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; to strengthen and extend the union of the toilers of the whole world, the Communist International.

This vow has been kept by the Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Comrade Stalin. The unity of word and deed, of theory and practice, of teaching and life which was Lenin's innermost nature, has remained the innermost nature of his Party. Lenin is immortal, in the deepest sense of the word.

Out of the abyss of the first imperialist war, he led the toilers of an enormous country to victory and snatched one-sixth of the earth from the imperialist world system.

Under his banner, the toilers of all countries will emerge victorious from the second imperialist war.

STALIN AND THE WORLD PROLETARIAT

BY GEORGI DIMITROFF

I.

IT IS with a feeling of gladness and pride, of profound respect and boundless love that millions of people all over the capitalist world join with the peoples of the vast country of socialism in celebrating Comrade Stalin's sixtieth birthday.

Millions of working people in the capitalist countries look upon Stalin as their close friend, wise teacher and great leader. No other person in the world enjoys such unshakable confidence and prestige in the ranks of the working class movement, in the ranks of the working people of all countries as *our Stalin, the genius who is carrying on the cause of Marx, Engels and Lenin.*

Everyone of Comrade Stalin's public utterances is listened to with avidity and studied with care by millions and millions of people, who are inspired by his words to heroic feats and derive from them fresh confidence in the triumph of socialism all over the world.

To what is the immeasurable strength of Stalin's influence to be attributed? Why do the working people respect him and love him so deeply? Because they know that Stalin has no other interests than the defense of oppressed and suf-

fering humanity, has no other life than the life he devotes to the weal of the working people. Because they know that Stalin's entire theoretical and practical activities, his entire life, are inseparable from socialism; they know that it was under his leadership that the Soviet people built up a socialist society and transformed the age-long dreams of the finest minds of humanity into the splendid reality of today. Because the working people look upon the Soviet Union as a powerful bulwark in their own struggle for emancipation, and on Stalin as the wise pilot of the country of victorious socialism—the fatherland of the working people of the whole world. Because they know that Stalin and the Soviet people have one single thought and one single will, devoted to the service of all the oppressed, exploited and disinherited.

The strength of Stalin's influence lies in his great teaching, which has been tested by the experience of millions, in the justness of his cause, which has been confirmed by immortal deeds. For decades the learned men of the bourgeoisie have asserted that socialism was a utopia. Stalin has now demonstrated socialism to the millions as a living reality. For decades the ideologists of

the bourgeoisie asserted that the peasant possesses an "anti-collectivist skull," and that he would never reconcile himself to socialism. Stalin demonstrated that the peasantry, given the state leadership of the working class, would moor its bark forever to the shore of socialism. The Social-Democratic frauds asserted that socialism could be reached through bourgeois democracy. Stalin maintained that the people can reach socialism only through the dictatorship of the proletariat, whereas bourgeois democracy opens the way to capitalist reaction and unleashes imperialist wars. They asserted that through capitalist stabilization mankind would enter the phase of "organized capitalism." Stalin demonstrated that capitalism would plunge into an abyss and be shaken by tremendous upheavals. And it was Comrade Stalin who proved to be right.

The masses can now see that, whereas capitalism dooms them to poverty, starvation and unemployment and flings them into the bloody gulf of devastating war, the Soviet Union, led by Stalin, is not only preventing its population of one hundred and eighty-three millions from being drawn into the imperialist war, but is erecting a powerful barrier against the conversion of the war into a universal holocaust.

Millions of working people all over the world look upon Stalin, upon his teachings and his leadership as the embodiment of the *all-conquering power of the Bolshevik Party and of the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, as the embodiment of the all-conquering*

power of the working class. Hence the profound intellectual conviction, the onward march of which no obstacles can halt, and which is moving the armies of revolutionary fighters in the world of capitalism.

II.

The working class in the capitalist countries *are learning and will learn from Stalin the Bolshevik art of fighting and vanquishing the class enemy.* His teaching, tested and confirmed by the vast experience of the triumphant struggle for socialism, furnishes an inexhaustible arsenal of intellectual weapons for the entire world proletariat.

From Stalin, the advanced proletarians are learning, above all, to understand the exclusive importance of revolutionary theory in the struggle for the liberation of the working class.

"Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement," Lenin said, and this well-known maxim Comrade Stalin has followed with undeviating consistency throughout his revolutionary activity.

Two typical examples will perhaps illustrate better than anything else the immense importance which Comrade Stalin attaches to theory. On the eve of the first Russian Revolution, while fighting for the creation of a Bolshevik Party and upholding Lenin's teaching against the attacks of the opportunists, Comrade Stalin explained the vital necessity of linking the working class movement with socialist theory. In his pamphlet, *A Glance at Party Disagreements* (1905), he wrote:

"A spontaneous labor movement, a movement *without socialism*, inevitably becomes petty and takes on a craft-unionist complexion, subordinates itself to bourgeois ideology. . . . On the other hand, socialism *outside the labor movement* remains a phrase and loses its meaning, no matter on what scientific grounds it stands. . . .

"What is the conclusion? The labor movement must unite with socialism; practical activity must be closely bound up with theory, and so give the spontaneous labor movement a Social-Democratic meaning and character." (L. Beria, *Stalin's Early Writings and Activities*, pp. 53-54, International Publishers, New York.)

The other example is a very recent one. Despite his tremendous preoccupation with the task of guiding the socialist state, Comrade Stalin worked on the compilation of the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)* and wrote for it the section on dialectical and historical materialism, which represents the summit of Marxist philosophical science. Thanks to these labors of Comrade Stalin, we now have a remarkable theoretical work, an encyclopedia of fundamental knowledge in the Marxist-Leninist theory and a sure guide to the world proletariat in its struggle to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism.

For many decades, Comrade Stalin has been developing, supplementing and enriching the Marxist-Leninist teachings. His gigantic labors are the embodiment of creative Marxism. He is an irreconcilable enemy of all dogmatism. He cannot tolerate the application of ready-made patterns and petrified formu-

las to the concrete problems of the class struggle of the proletariat.

Himself setting a brilliant example in the combination of Bolshevik fidelity to principle with the utmost flexibility, and applying the Marxian dialectics in a masterly fashion, Comrade Stalin never tires of warning us against mechanically applying the experience of the working class movement in one country to that of other countries, where conditions are different. He demands a comprehensive analysis of every concrete historical situation, an analysis of the alignment of class forces with an eye to the specific national attributes of each country. He teaches the Communists to base their strategy and tactics on actual realities and to regard theory, not as a collection of abstract dogmas, but as a guide to action.

In the article he wrote on the occasion of Lenin's fiftieth birthday, Comrade Stalin gave a striking description of the difference between creative Marxism and dogmatic Marxism. Comparing the attitude towards Marxism of the opportunists of the pre-war Second International with that of the Bolsheviks, headed by Lenin, he wrote:

"The second group [*i.e.*, the Bolsheviks—*G.D.*], on the other hand, attaches prime importance not to the outward acceptance of Marxism, but to its realization, its translation into reality. What this group chiefly concentrates its attention on is to determine the ways and means of realizing Marxism that best answers the situation, and to change these ways and means as the situation changes. It does not derive its directions and instructions from historical analogies and parallels but

from a study of surrounding conditions. It does not base its activities on quotations and maxims, but on practical experience, testing every step by experience, learning from its mistakes and teaching others how to build a new life. This, in fact, explains why there is no discrepancy between word and deed in the activities of this group, and why the teachings of Marx completely retain their living, revolutionary force. To this group may be fully applied Marx's saying that the Marxists cannot rest content with interpreting the world, but must go further and change it. This group is known as the Bolsheviks, the Communists."

While advancing the Marxist-Leninist theory, Comrade Stalin has simultaneously waged and continues to wage a relentless struggle against all attempts of the opportunists to distort and misrepresent Leninism.

Treachery in policy has usually begun with revisionism in theory. Such was the case with the opportunists of the Second International. Such was the case with the Mensheviks. Such was the case with the Trotskyites, the Bukharinites, the Zinovievites and the other enemies of the Party and of the working class. The fight for the purity of revolutionary theory and irreconcilability towards its vulgarization and mutilation are inseparable features of Bolshevism. Lenin and Stalin, the leaders and theoreticians of Bolshevism, attached the highest importance to this struggle and themselves engaged in it unceasingly.

All Comrade Stalin's activities are an unsurpassable example of the way Leninism should be defended.

Just as Lenin upheld Marxism in a long struggle against the whole pack of revisionist "theoreticians," refusing to allow them to emasculate it and rob it of its revolutionary character, so Comrade Stalin has upheld Marxism-Leninism against the vile attempts of enemy agents to corrupt this theory and thereby reduce the proletariat to impotence.

Comrade Stalin's incessant concern for the purity of the advanced theory of the working class, and his contributions towards its development, are of particular importance under present-day conditions. The enemies of the working class in all the capitalist countries have started a crusade against this theory. In connection with the imperialist war and the offensive of world reaction, a savage campaign has been launched against revolutionary Marxism, against Communism. The enemies have a mortal hatred of the Marxist-Leninist theory, for they can see that its sway over the masses is spreading and becoming a material force, and it is showing the working people the right way to combat imperialist war, bourgeois reaction and capitalist slavery.

The bourgeoisie has set every means in motion to disarm the working class ideologically. The church, backed by the learned lackeys of the bourgeoisie, has proclaimed a crusade against Marxism, and they are being seconded by the agents of imperialism in the Second International; a vociferous and brainless campaign is being waged against Marxism by the Ministries of Propaganda that have been specially set up; works of Lenin and Stalin are being burned and de-

stroyed by the brutal shock troops of reaction.

But vain are all the attempts of the bourgeoisie, which, in its anti-Marxist crusade is combining subtle deceit with gross police prosecution, coaxing with threats, corruption with courts-martial. They are vain because the advanced workers are learning the Marxist-Leninist theory from Comrade Stalin; they are learning from him how to defend it from the attacks of all its enemies, how to carry it to the broad masses of the working people, how to combine it with the practical class struggle, and how to ensure its undivided supremacy in the international working class movement.

III.

The workers of the capitalist countries are furthermore learning from Comrade Stalin *to understand the highly important role of the Party of the working class*, the art of forming and consolidating it, of strengthening its fighting efficiency and maneuvering ability in every way, and of extending its connections with the working masses. They are learning the Bolshevik art of ensuring the leading role of the working class with regard to all other working people. Stalin's splendid account of the glorious and heroic history of the C.P.S.U.-(B.) contains a classical description of the importance of the Party to the cause of the working class.

"The history of the Party teaches us, first of all, that the victory of the proletarian revolution, the victory of the dictatorship of the pro-

letariat, is impossible without a revolutionary party of the proletariat, a party free from opportunism, irreconcilable towards compromisers and capitulators, and revolutionary in its attitude towards the bourgeoisie and the state power." (*History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)*, p. 337, International Publishers, New York.)

The building, consolidation, molding and utmost development of this party, of which history knows no equal, was and is Comrade Stalin's chief concern.

Day by day, for decades prior to the October Revolution, living the hard life of a revolutionary working underground in Tsarist Russia, and later in the new, Soviet conditions, Comrade Stalin worked with Lenin in building, forging and consolidating the Bolshevik Party. Nothing could halt this fight for the Party, neither the repressive acts of the tsarist police nor persecution by the Provisional Government, neither the machinations of the bourgeoisie nor the subversive activities of the Mensheviks, the Trotskyites and other agents of the class enemy.

Lenin and Stalin overcame every obstacle and smashed the resistance of all the forces of the old world, for in this struggle the leaders of Bolshevism based themselves on the might of the working class and were fulfilling its historic mission. Nor was the consolidation and development of the Bolshevik Party halted by the despicable wrecking activities of the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and Bukharinites who, after Lenin's death, attacked the Party, and the underlying principles of the Bolshevik Party, with redoubled ferocity.

Stalin defeated all the machinations of the enemies, swept them from the victorious path of the working class, upheld the Party, cemented the iron unity of its ranks and led it to the highest summits of victory. He gathered together all the great historical experience gained in the building of the Bolshevik Party, both in the bourgeois-democratic period and in the period of the socialist revolution, and armed the world proletariat with these generalizations drawn from this experience.

Stalin's "Conclusion" to the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)* describes with the utmost clarity, profundity, and precision what the Bolshevik Party was and is—a model for the proletarian parties of the capitalist countries.

At the dawn of Bolshevism, Lenin set forth his celebrated thesis regarding the importance of organization for the working class. "In its struggle for power," he taught, "the proletariat has no other weapon than organization." And the cardinal embodiment of this organization of the proletariat is its *Party*. It is the vanguard, the general staff of the working class, without which it would have been impossible to muster the forces of the proletariat, or create its powerful class organizations, or ensure the alliance between the working class and the other working people in town and country for the attainment of victory. Hence the major and fundamental task, a task of the utmost importance to the working class of the capitalist countries, is to forge genuine revolutionary parties, parties of the new type.

What is needed for the forging of such parties? An unceasing struggle for the Bolshevization of the Communist Parties. Proceeding from the historical experience of the Bolshevik Party, on the one hand, and mindful of the specific conditions in which the Communist movement is developing in the capitalist countries, on the other, Comrade Stalin tells us *what Bolshevization means and how it is to be attained*.

"Bolshevization," he wrote in 1925, "requires at least certain basic conditions, without which the Bolshevization of the Communist parties is impossible in general.

"1. The parties must not regard themselves as an appendage of the parliamentary election machine, as the Social-Democratic parties in fact do, and not as a free supplement to the trade unions, as certain anarcho-syndicalists sometimes assert, but as the *highest* form of class combination of the proletariat, designed to *lead* all other forms of proletarian organization, from the trade unions to the parliamentary groups.

"2. The Party, especially its leading elements, must have fully mastered the revolutionary theory of Marxism, which is indissolubly connected with revolutionary practice.

"3. The Party must base its slogans and directions not on formulas and historical parallels learned by rote, but on a careful analysis of the concrete conditions of the revolutionary movement at home and abroad, in which the experience of revolution in all countries must absolutely be taken into account.

"4. The Party must test the slogans and directives in the fire of the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

"5. The whole work of the Party, especially if it has not yet rid itself of Social-Democratic traditions, must be reconstructed on a new, revolutionary footing, so designed that every step and every action of the Party should naturally lead to revolutionizing the masses, to training and educating the working class masses in the spirit of revolution.

"6. The Party in its work must be able to combine supreme fidelity to principle (not to be confused with sectarianism!), with maximum connection and contact with the masses (not to be confused with tailism!), without which it is impossible for the Party not only to teach the masses but also to learn from them, not only to lead the masses and raise them to the level of the Party but also to take heed of the voice of the masses and divine their urgent needs.

"7. The Party must be able in its work to combine an irreconcilable revolutionary spirit (not to be confused with revolutionary adventurism!) with the maximum flexibility and maneuvering ability (not to be confused with opportunism!), without which it is impossible for the Party to master all forms of struggle and organization, to link up the day-to-day interests of the proletariat with the fundamental interests of the proletarian revolution, and to combine the legal struggle with the illegal struggle.

"8. The Party must not conceal its mistakes, it must not fear criticism, it must be able to improve and educate its forces using its own mistakes as an example.

"9. The Party must be able to form a basic leading group of the best elements of the foremost fighters, devoted enough to be genuine spokesmen of the aspirations of the revolutionary proletariat, and experienced enough to become the

real leaders of the proletarian revolution; capable of applying the tactics and strategy of Leninism.

"10. The Party must systematically improve the social composition of its organizations and rid itself of corrupting opportunist elements, with the aim of making its ranks monolithic to the utmost degree.

"11. The Party must establish iron proletarian discipline, based on ideological unanimity, clarity as to the aims of the movement, coordination of practical actions and an attitude of clear understanding on the part of the general membership towards the aims of the Party.

"12. The Party must keep a systematic check on the way its decisions and directives are being fulfilled, without which the latter risk becoming empty promises capable only of undermining the confidence of the broad proletarian masses in the Party.

"Without these and similar conditions, Bolshevization is nothing but an empty sound." (*Pravda*, February 3, 1925.)

The conditions of Bolshevization laid down by Stalin have played and are still playing a tremendous part in the development and consolidation of the international Communist movement. They may be compared in significance with the role of Lenin's well-known works, "What Is To Be Done?" and "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," in the history of the Party.

The importance of these splendid principles laid down by Comrade Stalin is immeasurably enhanced by the conditions which prevail today. It is enhanced by the fact that in the midst of the imperialist war and rampant world reaction, pro-

found changes are taking place in the international working class movement, giving rise to ever new and complex tasks for the Communist Parties. It is enhanced by the fact that owing to the treachery of the Social-Democratic leaders, millions of Social-Democratic workers find themselves at the cross-roads; the best of them are coming more and more clearly to realize the necessity for a joint struggle with the Communists, and the speedy realization of the fighting unity of the working class will depend largely on the Bolshevik skill of the Communists. The importance of Stalin's principles is further enhanced by the fact that the Communist Parties are faced with the highly urgent task of ousting the agents of the bourgeoisie from the ranks of the working class movement in order decisively to direct the latter along the lines of a genuine proletarian policy.

Learning from Comrade Stalin, the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries have considerable achievements in the matter of their own Bolshevization. They have developed ideologically, politically and organizationally; they have done a great deal to purify their ranks of alien, opportunist elements; they have strengthened the solidarity of their ranks, and, as recent events have shown, have stood a severe test without erring from the right path. But they feel and realize that they still lack much to become real Bolshevik parties.

And the Communists will work with even greater energy and persistence to *put into practice in the Communist movement, Stalin's*

principles of Bolshevization, without which the victory of the working class cannot be ensured.

IV.

The advanced workers of the capitalist countries have learned, and are now learning, from Comrade Stalin *how to wage a Bolshevik struggle against the influence of the bourgeoisie and of its agents in the ranks of the working class.* It is to the vital interests of the entire working class promptly to discover the people and the channels through which this influence is conveyed, to tear the mask from those who pose as the friends of the proletariat, and ruthlessly to expose and paralyze the disastrous consequences of their corrupting activities.

The history of the working class movement in all countries shows that, in addition to employing open violence, the capitalists make wide use of the method of disintegrating the ranks of the working class movement from within. By various devices they tame, bribe, and corrupt leaders of the working class movement who are susceptible to flattery, who hanker after cheap popularity, or have a weakness for the good things of life; they admit them to their salons, invite them to their table, flatter their vanity, and pet and praise them for every despicable deed they commit. They offer better conditions to the labor aristocracy, which has been fostered at the expense of colonial superprofits. At the same time, with the help of their government bodies, they smuggle spies and provocateurs into the working class move-

ment and try to get them installed in leading posts with the object of systematically disorganizing the working class movement and keeping it in a state of disunity and impotence. Moreover, as we know, the working class is not separated by a wall from the other sections of the population, and its ranks are constantly being replenished from the petty bourgeoisie.

As a consequence of all this, non-proletarian influences penetrate into the working class movement. This is reflected in the ideology and policy of the organizations and parties active in the ranks of the working class. Unless these bourgeois influences and bourgeois agents in the working class movement are combated, it is impossible to protect the day-to-day interests and needs of the proletariat, or to achieve the ultimate aims of its movement.

The chief channel through which bourgeois influence penetrates to the working class in the capitalist countries was and still is *Social-Democratism*.

In the realm of theory, Social-Democratism is either a vulgarization and distortion of Marxism, or else a downright and cynical repudiation of Marxism, an open rupture with and desertion from Marxism to the ideological position of the bourgeoisie. In practice, Social-Democratism is a policy of reconciling the class antagonisms between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, a policy of class collaboration between them and of subordinating the interests of the proletariat to the interests of the bourgeoisie. Social-Democratism rejects the idea of a strongly-welded

proletarian party capable of leading the working class in a determined struggle against capitalism. Social-Democratism fosters organizational disunity in the proletarian organizations, it splits the working class movement. Social-Democratism repudiates proletarian internationalism; it is a camouflage for bourgeois chauvinism in the ranks of the working class. Social-Democratism is the most vile and poisonous weapon imperialism has in its campaign of slander against the Land of Socialism.

With the help of Social-Democratism, the bourgeoisie disarms the working class ideologically, undermines its faith in its own strength, poisons its mind with doubt and skepticism, paralyzes its will, disorganizes its ranks, and sets one section against another, and thus endeavors to keep the working class under its ideological and political sway in order to preserve its own class rule.

The entire experience of the international working class movement furnishes a vivid illustration of the disastrous role played by Social-Democratism. At this moment of history, Social-Democratism and its spokesmen are the instrument with which the bourgeoisie is endeavoring to divert the working class from its revolutionary path, to press its organizations into the service of the criminal imperialist war and the counter-revolutionary campaign against the great Land of Socialism.

Whereas the Soviet Union is striving to bring this criminal imperialist carnage to an end, whereas the advanced proletarians are opposing the war and holding aloft

the banner of proletarian internationalism, the apostles of Social-Democratism, the leaders of the Second International—all these Blums, Citrines, Tanners, Sandler and Hoeglunds—are rabid warmongers and malignant instigators of the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet campaign. Together with their imperialist bourgeoisies, and in conjunction with the Finnish White Guards, with bloody butchers like Mannerheim, they are working against the Finnish people, against their democratic republic and against the Soviet Union. Faithfully serving their imperialist masters, they furiously rage against Communism, insist on the suppression of the Communist Parties and the Communist press, engineer police raids and demand that the Communists be flung into prison and concentration camp. There is no criminal and vile act to which these utterly corrupt leaders of the Social-Democratic parties have not resorted in their campaign against the revolutionary movement and the Land of Socialism.

Social-Democratism, which began by revising Marxism and ended by completely repudiating it, which for decades has served as an instrument for demoralizing and disorganizing the working class movement, has now become a weapon for the suppression of the working class, a weapon of reaction, imperialist war, and counter-revolutionary attack on the Land of Socialism.

One service Comrade Stalin has rendered the world proletariat is that he has for decades waged a relentless struggle against Social-Democratism, disclosed its social

roots and the reasons for its influence, and has indicated the ways and means of vanquishing and eradicating it. On the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution, Comrade Stalin wrote:

"Social-Democratism today is an ideological pillar of capitalism. . . . We cannot get rid of capitalism unless we rid the working class movement of Social-Democratism."

The profound truth of this conclusion has been borne out by the entire experience of the working class movement in the capitalist countries. It is now being realized by the Social-Democratic workers, who are growing more and more indignant with the treacherous policy of their leaders.

One of the most important tasks of the Communist Parties is to conduct a struggle to win away from the influence of Social-Democratism workers who have fallen under its baneful influence, enlist them in a joint struggle with the Communist workers, and fight for the complete elimination of Social-Democratism from the ranks of the working class. *And they are learning and will continue to learn the art of successfully accomplishing this from Comrade Stalin.*

V.

In the eyes of the working class of the world, Comrade Stalin is a proletarian leader who ideally combines all the finest features, properties and qualities of the class whose historic mission it is to reconstruct the world.

Stalin is our best champion of proletarian internationalism. All his

activities and teachings, like the activities and teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, are thoroughly imbued with the spirit of proletarian internationalism. The deep roots of this internationalism lie in the very nature of the working class.

Stalin is as international as the working class. Stalin is as international as Bolshevism. Stalin is as international as the Marxist-Leninist teaching, which indicates the way of emancipation to all the exploited and oppressed on the face of the earth. Comrade Stalin's theoretical and practical works are concerned with the interests of the workers of all countries, of all nations and races.

Comrade Stalin wages a most irreconcilable struggle against nationalism and chauvinism, which are strenuously fostered by the bourgeoisie and its ideologists. Like Lenin, he has always worked to instill the spirit of proletarian internationalism in the minds of the proletarians of the world and of the working people of the Soviet Union. He teaches us that the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. is a powerful pillar for the liberation movement of the working people in the capitalist countries. He teaches the Soviet people that this victory would have been impossible without the support of the international working class. He teaches us that the achievements of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. help to strengthen the working people in the capitalist countries in their struggle against the exploiters. He teaches us that the struggle of the working people of the capitalist countries facilitates

the progress of the Soviet Union towards Communism. Comrade Stalin's profound proletarian internationalism is daily felt by the workers of the capitalist countries. They look upon Stalin not only as the leader of the peoples of the Soviet Union, but as the leader of the proletariat of the entire world, a leader who has devoted his life to the realization of their cherished hopes and aspirations.

The cause of the international Communist movement is indissolubly associated with the name of Comrade Stalin. By their indefatigable efforts to create a Bolshevik Party, their long and irreconcilable struggle against opportunism in Russia and in the international arena, their development of Marxism in conformity with the new conditions of the class struggle, and their achievement of the victory of the great socialist revolution in the U.S.S.R., Lenin and Stalin laid the foundations for the Communist International. The Communist International was built up and its fight was and is being waged on the basis of their great teachings. All its activities have been guided by the example of the struggle of the glorious Bolshevik Party of which they were the builders. *The Communist International is the International of Lenin and Stalin*, just as the First International was the International of Marx and Engels.

The Social-Democratic lackeys, in an attempt to hurt the Communists, taunt them with being "Stalinists." But we Communists are proud of being called by this honorable title, just as we are proud of being called Leninists. There is no

greater honor for the proletarian revolutionary than to be a real *Leninist*, a real *Stalinist*, to be a supremely faithful follower of Lenin and Stalin. And there is no greater happiness for the Communists than to fight under the leadership of the great Stalin for the triumph of the just cause of the world proletariat.

Not everybody can be a Stalinist. The honorable title of Leninist-Stalinist must be earned by Bolshevik effort and staunchness, by supreme devotion to the cause of the working class. The Leninist-Stalinist guard of champions of the proletariat—the gold reserve of the international proletarian movement—is growing from day to day, spreading and multiplying in every corner of the earth. They alone, and not the despicable Social-Democratic lackeys of imperialism, are the spokesmen of the interests and needs of the working class. And this glorious guard will lead the international proletariat, under the banner of

Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, to victory over the forces of the old world.

But the Bolsheviks know that victory never comes of its own accord, that it must be fought for and won. We must learn from Stalin what creative Marxism means; we must learn from Stalin how to build a Bolshevik Party; we must learn from Stalin how to strengthen our bonds with the masses under all conditions; we must learn from Stalin how to fight Social-Democratism; we must learn from Stalin revolutionary courage and revolutionary realism; we must learn from Stalin to be fearless in battle and ruthless towards the class enemy; we must learn from Stalin to display inflexible will and to overcome all difficulties and vanquish the enemy; we must learn from Stalin to be thoroughly faithful to the cause of proletarian internationalism—for these are the cardinal conditions for paving the way to and achieving the victory of the working class.

THE GREAT THEORETICIAN OF COMMUNISM

BY D. Z. MANUILSKY

MARXISM-LENINISM — the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, developed and supplemented by Comrade Stalin—is the scientific world outlook of the international working class, the class that has won a historic victory on one-sixth of the globe, the class which, relying on this victory, is destined to overthrow capitalism and build a new, Communist, society. Marxism-Leninism is the most revolutionary doctrine that has ever existed in the history of mankind. It is the most advanced theory, tested in the crucible of the battles waged by the working people of the U.S.S.R. and the working people of the whole world. Genuine Marxism can be only creative Marxism, for it is itself a product of the operation of the laws of dialectical development, for not only does it explain the world but provides the key for changing the world.

All the new material that Comrade Stalin has contributed and is contributing to Marxism cannot be considered separately from its living, organic connection with all that Marx and Engels bequeathed to mankind and all that Lenin contributed to enrich Marxism. Dialectical and

historical materialism, the science of the laws of development of capitalist society, the Marxian idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the strategy and tactics of the working class in the period of pre-monopolist capitalism—all that vast store of ideas which Marx and Engels bequeathed to the proletariat constitutes the granite foundation on which Lenin and Stalin, the brilliant continuators of the work of the founders of Scientific Socialism, have built their teachings. Lenin and Stalin developed and supplemented the teachings of Marx and Engels and gave the proletariat a new, comprehensive theory of socialist revolution which illumines the path of the struggle of the working class for communism and all the problems of the strategy and tactics of the proletariat in the period prior to the seizure of power by the proletariat, in the period of the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship and the suppression of the resistance of the exploiting classes, in the period of building socialism, and in the period of the completion of the building of classless society and the gradual transition from socialism to communism. The Lenin-

Stalin theory of socialist revolution is a single and integral doctrine inseparable from the doctrine of Marx and Engels; it is the continuation and development of their views. Working hand in hand in elaborating this theory in the midst of the battles for socialism, Lenin and Stalin have each contributed to this theory their independent share of creative work.

Lenin's contribution to this theory, that by which he enriched Marxism, is explained with great profundity of thought, with iron logic and extreme clarity in Comrade Stalin's classical work, *Foundations of Leninism*, which has become a handbook for Communists in all countries. But this book represents not only an exposition of Lenin's views; it is one of the greatest works of creative Marxism, a work that further advances the science of Marxism-Leninism.

In the course of more than two decades, while Lenin was still alive, Comrade Stalin developed the same propositions that Lenin worked on; he developed them not only as a true disciple, friend and comrade-in-arms of Lenin, but, traveling his own independent road, he arrived at the same conclusions as Lenin. His early articles against Anarchism and a number of other theoretical works written as far back as the first decade of the present century, helped to raise the struggle for the philosophy of Marxism to a high plane. Comrade Stalin's remarkable articles on the national question, and his works dealing with the colonial question became the basis of the

Lenin-Stalin teaching of the reserves of the revolution.

The entire road which our country has traversed in the process of becoming transformed from N.E.P.* Russia into socialist Russia has been illumined by the powerful searchlight of Stalin's theoretical thought. Thanks to Comrade Stalin's theoretical and practical constructive work, Marxism-Leninism today is the Marxism not only of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions but also of the era of the victory of socialism on one-sixth of the globe.

* * *

As we know, Marx and Engels were the creators of the dialectical method, of philosophical and historical materialism. In his renowned work, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, Lenin, while administering a resolute rebuff to the attempts at a revision of the philosophical views of Marx and Engels, generalized the latest discoveries of science, primarily in the sphere of the natural sciences, equipped the philosophy of Marxism with these discoveries and reinforced the theoretical foundation of Communism. Comrade Stalin's inspired work on *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*, which he wrote for the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* [International Publishers, New York], abounding as it does in vivid examples taken from social life and the class struggle, reveals

* New Economic Policy.

new aspects of the philosophy of Marxism and serves as a stimulus to advance theoretical Marxist thought not only in our country but far beyond it as well. Millions of workers and working intellectuals throughout the world will receive their ideological training and theoretical tempering through this classical work of Comrade Stalin's.

Comrade Stalin has shown himself an unsurpassed master of Marxian dialectics in all his diverse state activities in the sphere of economic and political life and in the sphere of the relationships of the socialist country with the capitalist world. Future generations will study Marxian dialectics not only in Comrade Stalin's theoretical works, but also in the history of his entire revolutionary activity and his vast work as a statesman—a history which is bound to be written and will be written by the sons of our gifted people.

Prior to the World War of 1914-18 Western European Social-Democracy professed its adherence to historical materialism in words; but it bowed its head fatalistically to capitalism, exaggerating its vitality, its power and its opportunities for resistance. In the laws of historical materialism it saw merely an external elemental force which breaks down the human will; it ignored the active role of the working class. Comrade Stalin's conception of the laws of historical necessity, which runs through his entire revolutionary activity and his work as a statesman, represents a striking example

of creative Marxism, which recognizes the tremendous role of the conscious influence exerted by people on the course of events, on the course of their history.

In the present epoch it is Comrade Stalin who, more than anybody else, sagaciously takes into account the objective obstacles that stand in the way of the revolutionary will of the working class, of the will of the socialist state; but at the same time it is Comrade Stalin who, more than anybody else, boldly sets revolutionary tasks designed to change the face of the world and of directing historical development along the desired channel.

We know that Lenin gave a *well-founded Marxist analysis of imperialism* as the last stage of capitalism, and revealed its contradictions and the conditions of its inevitable doom. Comrade Stalin, taking Lenin's teaching on imperialism as his basis, has elaborated the problems of Marxist theory relating to the period of *the general crisis of capitalism*, has revealed the increasingly destructive nature of the economic crises which deepen and intensify the crisis of the entire capitalist system, has smashed the theory of "eternal prosperity" and of "organized capitalism," has proved scientifically the precariousness of capitalist stabilization, and has shown all its inherent contradictions which lead to the intensification of the struggle among the imperialists and to new imperialist wars.

Comrade Stalin has shown what changes are taking place in the po-

litical superstructure of capitalism; he has revealed the nature of the particular form of political reaction characteristic of capitalism in the era of its decline, that goes by the name of fascism. He has shown that this form of reaction is not separated by any wall from so-called bourgeois democracy; for it and "bourgeois democracy" have a common basis—the system of capitalist exploitation, for there is no difference in principle between fascism and "bourgeois democracy"—they are both merely forms of bourgeois dictatorship. He has taught the Marxists of all countries that the intensification of reaction is not only a result of the weakness of the working class, of the fact that its forces are scattered due to the demoralizing and treacherous activity of the top leadership of the Social-Democratic Parties, but that this reaction is at the same time a result of the weakness of the bourgeoisie, which is no longer able to rule by the old methods of parliamentarism which serve to mask from the masses of the people the true class nature of bourgeois dictatorship.

One of the services rendered by Lenin was that, from the analysis of imperialism as the monopoly stage of capitalism, he deduced the law of the intensification of the uneven development of capitalism in the imperialist era. Basing himself on the unevenness of the development of capitalism, Lenin discovered another truth which enriched Marxist science—namely, the impossibility of a simultaneous victory of socialism in all countries and the pos-

sibility of such a victory in several countries or even in one country taken singly.

From this thesis of Lenin's it followed, in the first place, that the working class at the head of all the exploited can break the imperialist chain at one of its links—the weakest—and that such a weak link may be represented by a country which, although backward in its economic development, is subject to the most devastating effects of the internal and external upheavals of the capitalist system; secondly, that, despite the technical and economic backwardness of Russia, it was possible to build socialism in it by the efforts of the Soviet workers and peasants themselves, on condition that foreign intervention did not prevent the realization of this historic task of world importance.

Comrade Stalin defended this thesis of Lenin's against the enemy agents who tried to frighten the Bolsheviks by the technical and economic backwardness of Russia, by the difficulties of building socialism in Russia, who predicted the inevitable disruption of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and asserted that the young Soviet state could not hold its own in face of the forces of the surrounding capitalist world. He showed that the Trotsky-Bukharin-Zinoviev gang was in fact working for the restoration of capitalism and striving to deliver the Soviet country to foreign imperialist robbers to be ravaged and plundered by them.

Using the experience of the building of socialism in the U.S.S.R.,

Comrade Stalin has proved the truth of Lenin's thesis, and, at the head of the Party and of the Soviet people, he has translated it into reality, has made it *the cornerstone of the strategy of the world proletariat*, of the strategy of the proletarian revolution. He has elevated this thesis of Lenin's to a lofty height and has made it the starting point of the entire policy of the socialist state, the basis for *the victory of socialism in the historic rivalry between the two worlds*.

He has developed this thesis of Lenin's further and has arrived at the conclusion that *it is possible to build communism* in the U.S.S.R. while there exists a surrounding capitalist world. He has shown that this thesis of Lenin's is a motor impelling the liberation movement of the working class in all countries, that it is a powerful means for strengthening *proletarian internationalism*; for the revolution in the victorious country is not a self-sufficient quantity, but a support that serves to accelerate the victory of the proletariat in other countries. He has shown that the position of those who deny the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country is one of treason to proletarian internationalism, for:

"... It fetters, rather than releases, the initiative of individual countries which, by reason of certain historical conditions, obtain the opportunity to break through the front of capital alone; for it does not stimulate an active onslaught on capital in individual countries, but encourages passive waiting for the

moment of the universal climax; for it cultivates among the proletarians of the different countries not the spirit of revolutionary determination, but the mood of Hamlet-like doubt over the question as to 'what if the others fail to back us up?'"

* * *

Together with Lenin Comrade Stalin built *the Party of a new type*; together with Lenin he led this Party to storm capitalism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. He has further developed Lenin's teachings on the Party and applied them to the conditions of the triumphant construction of socialism. He has armed this Party of a new type *with the experience of the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R.* and has helped it to become not only the vanguard of the working class but *the vanguard of all the working people* in their struggle for the consolidation and development of the socialist system. He has purged it of opportunist filth, of the agents of the class enemy, has enhanced its monolithic nature and the unity of its ranks.

As the building of the classless socialist society has progressed, he has created firm guarantees against this Party being split, he has extended its contacts with the working people by bringing forward new detachments of Party and non-Party Bolsheviks tempered in struggle, by promoting new forces selflessly devoted to the cause of communism, by raising the theoretical level of the Party, by educating its

ranks in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin's doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the backbone of the Lenin-Stalin theory of socialist revolution. Stalin elaborated this doctrine jointly with Lenin. After Lenin's death he systematized and assembled into a single whole the vast theoretical wealth of Lenin's ideas on this problem, at the same time accomplishing a tremendous amount of creative work of his own which advances Lenin's teachings on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Comrade Stalin did more: he developed this doctrine with a view to the period of the building of socialism which was marked by the determined offensive against the capitalist elements, the drawing of millions of individual peasant farms into the work of socialist construction, the elimination of the kulaks as a class, and the transformation of Soviet economy with its survivals of capitalism—an economy which was not yet fully socialist—into socialist economy.

Comrade Stalin elaborated the question of the ways and means of the further extension of the social base of the dictatorship of the working class and the further consolidation of the latter. He taught that socialist industrialization would enhance the relative importance of the working class in Soviet society and would fortify the state leadership exercised by the working class over the other sections of the working people in the struggle for socialism. He taught that by the col-

lectivization of agriculture the Party was laying a new unshakable economic foundation for the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and that it was rendering this alliance indestructible and firm as granite. He taught that by pursuing a correct national policy the Party would put an end to the national strife that was characteristic of the pre-revolutionary period, and that it would weld the nations inhabiting the U.S.S.R. into a united fraternal family. And the Party of Lenin and Stalin has carried into life the teachings of Stalin, has hammered out the unprecedented moral and political unity of the Soviet people, has raised a new wave of Soviet patriotism and thereby consolidated the dictatorship of the working class.

Taking as a basis the social changes that had taken place in our country as a result of the victory of socialism, Comrade Stalin elaborated the specific ways for the development of the dictatorship of the working class—which always represented the broadest democracy for the working people—into a nationwide socialist democracy, a democracy which the history of mankind had never known before. The greatest document of our epoch—the Stalin Constitution, embodying the socialist achievements of which the outstanding minds of humanity always dreamed, for which the finest sons of the working class fought and died, for which the Roman slave and the guild-apprentice and all oppressed mankind throughout the ages groped in their reveries—this

document represents also *a new page in the teachings on the dictatorship of the proletariat.*

With amazing perspicacity Comrade Stalin discerned the *savage forms of struggle* to which the enemy classes that were being eliminated by the socialist offensive would resort in the epoch of the dictatorship of the working class. He has taught that the elimination of the exploiting classes is a dialectical process—a ruthless struggle of antagonisms, a struggle between the new that is being born and the old that is dying, in which the new emerges victorious and as a result society rises to a higher stage in its development.

He has taught that the road to socialism leads not through the “subsidence of the class struggle” but through its intensification, not through the proletarian dictatorship being relaxed, but through its being strengthened in every way. He has taught that the force of the enemy resistance is growing tenfold owing to the fact that the U.S.S.R. is surrounded by a capitalist world. He has taught that the more hopeless the resistance of the enemy elements becomes the more desperate are the methods of struggle they resort to; deprived of any support within the country, they enter the service of the exploiting classes of foreign states and turn into a gang of spies, diversionists and assassins sent by foreign espionage services into the Land of Socialism.

Marx and Engels gave in their works *a general idea of the communist society of the future.* The

brilliant ideas of Marx and Engels, which testify to the great prophetic powers of the founders of Scientific Socialism, served as a guiding line for the theoretical works and practical activity of Lenin and Stalin in their struggle for the victory of the working class, for socialism. Lenin, that great thinker, pointed out by his clear economic policy the road towards building up the socialist economy; in his famous laconic formula—“Communism is the Soviet power plus electrification”—he gave the idea of socialist industrialization; in his G.O.E.L.R.O.* plan he anticipated the future Stalin Five-Year Plans; in his cooperative plan he indicated the route which subsequently became the highway along which the peasant millions began to march towards socialism. By establishing a durable alliance between the working class, relying for support on the poor peasants, and the middle peasantry he prepared the conditions for victorious socialist construction.

With the rough drafts left by Marx and Engels and Lenin's works as his basis, Comrade Stalin developed Lenin's outlines on the building of socialist society in the U.S.S.R. He has given Lenin's ideas concrete content, and has made the building of socialism the cherished cause of scores of millions of workers, peasants and intellectuals. He unfolded the grand plan of socialist reforms, the realization of which has changed the face of the Soviet

* Commission for Elaborating the Plan for the Governmental Electrification of Russia.

Union. Today it is no longer the country with "five economic formations" of which Lenin spoke; it is no longer the country of "War Communism" with ruined mines and idle factories; nor the country of the NEP period when the working class, while holding the key positions, permitted, on certain conditions, the development of capitalist elements in its economic system; nor the country in which there existed, alongside of socialist industry, millions of small individual peasant farms. Today it is the country of Socialism Victorious, with a powerful industry, with collectivized agriculture run on the largest scale in the world, with socialized trade in the hands of the state, the co-operative societies and collective farms.

Stalin provided the key to the solution of the contradiction between Soviet power, the most advanced power in the history of mankind, and the low technical and economic level of the Soviet country inherited from the old tsarist landlord and capitalist system. He has solved this contradiction by means of the socialist industrialization of the country.

Comrade Stalin provided the key to the solution of another contradiction—the contradiction between socialist industry, which was destroying the capitalist elements, and small individual peasant farming, which was engendering these elements daily and hourly and constituted a real danger of a restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. Under Comrade Stalin's leadership one of

the greatest socialist transformations was accomplished—"a profound revolution, a leap from an old qualitative state of society to a new qualitative state, equivalent in its consequences to the revolution of October, 1917." (*History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, p. 305.)

These most important contradictions were overcome by means of socialist industrialization and the realization of the collective farm system, and as a result internal guarantees have been created for the building of a classless socialist society and the gradual transition from socialism to communism.

Under Comrade Stalin's leadership the conditions are now being created for the solution of the most important contradiction of the present period—the contradiction between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world surrounding it. They are being created by the tireless work to strengthen the defenses of our country, as a result of the fact that the U.S.S.R. has achieved its technical and economic independence of the capitalist world, by the independent foreign policy of the Soviet state which takes advantage of the antagonisms in the camp of the imperialists, by the Soviet Union becoming a mighty base of support for the liberation movement of the laboring people of all countries.

Stalin elaborated the theoretical problems relating to the building of socialism as the first phase of communism. At each stage of the construction of socialism he formulates, on the basis of an analysis of the

specific features of the given concrete situation, the slogans that mobilize the masses to overcome the internal dialectical contradictions and to advance the Soviet country further towards socialism. He has shown that these dialectical contradictions are not solved spontaneously, "of themselves," but by the active influence exerted by the Party, by the Soviet state, and by the trade unions, by means of a determined offensive on the part of the working class against the capitalist elements. He formulated the famous *six conditions* for the economic advancement of the Soviet Union, elaborated the question of the role of money, of business accounting, of Soviet trade under socialism, and exposed the pernicious character of the various fantastic projects for the abolition of money and for passing over to the direct exchange of commodities under the conditions prevailing during the first, lower, phase of communism. He exposed the counter-revolutionary essence of petty-bourgeois equalization and showed its grasping, kulak nature that was militating against socialism.

In realizing Lenin's cooperative plan he has directed the great collective farm movement of the peasant masses along the channel of forming agricultural artels, which rationally combine the public and personal interests of the collective farmer. He rebuffed the Leftist distortions in collective farm development. He has shown that only through the agricultural artel form of collective farm development will

the peasantry arrive at the higher form of collective farming—the agricultural commune. But the commune will acquire real vitality only when it will spring up on the basis of developed technique and an abundance of products.

Proceeding from the material basis of socialism which has in the main already been built up, Comrade Stalin has indicated the paths for the transition from socialism to communism, thereby further advancing the theory of socialist revolution. At the Eighteenth Congress of the Party he formulated the slogan: to overtake and outstrip the capitalist countries *economically as well*, i.e., as regards the volume of output per capita of the population.

He has set the Party the task of constantly fostering the new socialist intelligentsia, pointing out its role and importance in the further transformation of our country. He has revealed the shoots of communism in the Stakhanov movement, discerning in this movement a means of obliterating the dividing line between mental and manual labor. He is teaching us that in the U.S.S.R., where man is no longer the slave of social relationships that are beyond his control, but the conscious creator of social relationships, it is people who have mastered technique that decide everything.

* * *

Marx and Engels revealed the class nature of the state; they showed that ever since classes had appeared in society the state had

always been an organization of the ruling class, an organization of a handful of exploiters, of the minority, for the suppression of the exploited, who represent the majority of the population. Lenin, in his work, *State and Revolution*, defended the teachings of Marx and Engels on the state against their vulgarization and distortion on the part of the opportunists, and smashed to pieces the would-be theories of the Social-Democratic reformists regarding the nature of the state as an organization that "stands above classes," would-be theories which have subsequently been appropriated by the ideologists of the so-called totalitarian state.

What is the new contribution that Comrade Stalin has made to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the state? In the course of many decades Marxists adhered to Engels' view that in a classless society, in which there would be no one to suppress or restrain, the need for a state power would disappear, and that the conversion of the means of production into public property would be the last independent act of the state as such.

Comrade Stalin has shown that this view of the state in the period of transition from socialism to communism, which was based on the assumption that socialism would triumph simultaneously in all countries, does not conform to the historic experience of the U.S.S.R. Proceeding from the fact that socialism has triumphed in the U.S.S.R. and that the beginning has been made of the gradual transition

from socialism to communism, and proceeding further from the fact that the rivalry between the two world systems—the world of socialism and the world of capitalism—is growing in intensity, Comrade Stalin has formulated a new thesis, to the effect that even in a classless society, in a country in which communism will triumph, the state cannot wither away as long as the country is surrounded by a capitalist world, even though the forms and functions of this state will undergo changes.

* * *

The history of Comrade Stalin's work for, and of his contribution to, the cause of the international working class, as its teacher and leader, has still to be written. Comrade Stalin's teachings connect him by invisible threads with the millions of workers and other laboring people in the capitalist countries. In his speeches and reports the followers of Marxism-Leninism throughout the world find a profound analysis of world affairs, a correct appraisal of the alignment of the class forces, a clear perspective of further advance. In his speeches they find the answer to the question as to what is to be done and what policy is to be pursued in order to put an end to reaction, imperialist wars and capitalism.

All the new that Comrade Stalin has contributed to the theory of Marxism-Leninism is today the possession not only of the working people of our country—it is the

possession of the whole international working class. The Leninist-Stalinist theory of socialist revolution, summarizing as it does the entire vast experience of the land of triumphant socialism, serves as a beacon to illumine the path of the proletariat in the capitalist countries struggling to overthrow capitalism.

The international significance of the teachings of Lenin and Stalin consists also in the fact that they are accompanied by the creation of the new, Communist society; that they influence vast masses of people, direct the course of the first socialist revolution in the world, are verified by its experience, and represent an ideal combination of a great theory with enormous revolutionary practice. That is why, in the words of Comrade Molotov, "the names of Lenin and Stalin inspire bright hopes in every corner of the world and resound like a call to fight for peace and the happiness of

the nations, to fight for complete emancipation from capitalism."

Years will pass. Not a stone will be left of the accursed capitalist system, with its wars, its reaction, its vileness, brutality and savagery. In the memory of people the times of capitalism will remain as a ghastly nightmare.

But Stalin's teachings will live in the hearts and minds of emancipated humanity. In the teachings of the four great protagonists of Communism—Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin—the man of the future communist society will find ideas and a stimulus to inspired work. New titans, men of powerful creative thought and unbending will, will appear, who will supplement the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism with the experience of the struggle of emancipated humanity to master the blind forces of nature. They will continue the cause to which Comrade Stalin is devoting his brain, his heart, his whole life.

STALIN, LEADER OF PEOPLES, MAN OF THE MASSES

BY DOLORES IBARRURI (PASIONARIA)

TO SPEAK of the triumph of socialism on one-sixth of the earth; to write about the luxuriant development of agriculture in the Soviet Union, a development unequalled by any other country; to admire the astounding growth of socialist industry and the tempestuous advance of the workers; to marvel at the unprecedented achievements of the mighty Soviet air fleet, at the powerful reinforcements of the Soviet navy; to describe the glorious deeds of the Red Army, liberator of peoples; to study the wonderful mechanism of the gigantic socialist state with its manifold nationalities united by indissoluble bonds of fraternal friendship; to observe the progress of science, art, the culture of all Soviet peoples, the joyous life of their children, their women, the workers, the peasants and the intellectuals, the permanent security of all of them and their confidence in the future; to know the daily life of socialism and the heroic deeds of the Soviet people—means to see Stalin, to speak of Stalin, to experience Stalin.

For Stalin—means people, work, struggle; Stalin—means unswerving loyalty to the revolutionary prin-

ciples of Marxism-Leninism; Stalin—means unyielding hardness towards the opportunists, towards the betrayers and enemies of the toiling people; means tireless vigilance against all enemies of socialism.

Within the limited space of an article, it is very difficult to hold fast to the wealth of features that determine the political countenance and the human profile.

Of the genius who, together with Lenin, knew how to find still unexplored paths of Marxist science, paths of socialist construction along which the Bolshevik Party advanced and, under the conditions of capitalist encirclement, destroyed capitalism in one country, uprooted the last remnants of capitalist economy and built a socialist order for the first time in history;

Of the admirable leader who, with absolute devotion to the cause of communism, set himself the greatest world-historic task of building up socialism in a country which is surrounded by hostile capitalist powers and actually solved this task;

Of the leader of peoples who, at the head of the Bolshevik Party, with calm assurance, led the working class and the millions of peasants as well as the peoples of the

Soviet Union into the struggle against the capitalist survivals and against the backwardness of the country and who led this country to victory over the musty and difficult past in which hunger, misery and oppression ruled;

Of the great revolutionary who created a new social order in which there are no exploiters and no exploited, an order of which the best representatives of humanity only dared to dream, an order which is the shock-brigade of the international proletariat, which, through the beacon light of its socialist victories, promises all oppressed peoples the perspective of liberation.

How could this titanic achievement be realized? Where did Stalin get this energy, this indomitable will that permitted him to stand fast in the most dangerous moments?

There is nothing "miraculous" in the life and revolutionary work of the leader of the world proletariat. With his characteristic modesty and simplicity, he has himself explained the origin of his strength, the source of his energy, of his endurance and firmness in the struggle for communism.

In his speech at the final session of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in March, 1937, Comrade Stalin explained where and how the Bolsheviks find the strength necessary for waging a successful struggle.

"Lenin taught us," Stalin said, "not only to teach the masses but also to learn from them.

"What does this mean?

"It means, first, that we leaders must not become conceited; and we must understand that if we are members of the Central Committee or are People's Commissars, this does not mean that we possess all the knowledge necessary for giving correct leadership. An official position by itself does not provide knowledge and experience. This is still more the case in respect to a title.

"This means, second, that our experience alone, the experience of leaders, is insufficient to give correct leadership; that, consequently, it is necessary that one's experience, the experience of leaders, be supplemented by the experience of the masses, by the experience of the rank-and-file Party members, by the experience of the working class, by the experience of the people.

"This means, third, that we must not for one moment weaken, and still less break, our connection with the masses.

"This means, fourth, that we must pay careful attention to the voice of the masses, to the voice of the rank-and-file members of the Party, to the voice of the so-called 'small men,' to the voice of the people." (Joseph Stalin, *Mastering Bolshevism*, pp. 54-55, Workers Library Publishers, New York.)

And he further emphasizes:

"Contacts with the masses, the strengthening of these contacts, readiness to listen to the voices of the masses—in this lie the strength and inpregnability of Bolshevik leadership." (*Ibid.*, p. 58.)

This ardent emphasis on the importance of the Party and the leaders being connected with the masses; this profound conviction of the necessity of not becoming iso-

lated from the masses—a conviction which Stalin instills in the consciousness of every Bolshevik, of every member of the Communist Party and every non-Party Bolshevik—reveals one of the many characteristics which make Comrade Stalin the best interpreter and continuer of Marxism-Leninism; of teachings which are hostile to all that makes for rigidity, of teachings which, basing themselves on the experiences of the masses, makes theory a living reality and leads the proletariat along the path of victory.

Marx said, "Theory becomes a material power when it takes hold of the masses."

And Comrade Stalin always takes this power, the power of the masses, into account, that is, of the workers, of the peasants, of the toiling intellectuals, that power on which the Party as the vanguard of the working class must base itself, as the Party that leads the struggle against the class enemy and against all the forces and survivals of the old capitalist social order.

And just as great as Stalin's love for the masses, as his concern for them, as the attention which he pays to even the slightest justifiable wish if it can be transformed into revolutionary energy—is the firmness with which he corrects mistakes that have been committed, the boundless courage with which he goes against the stream and blocks its course when it threatens to take a direction not in accord with the interests of the Revolution.

It was in 1905, the year of intense revolutionary actions, the year that began with the tragic and bloody

Sunday on which the armed forces of the tsarist autocracy fired upon peacefully demonstrating workers. Following this crime, the revolutionary wave, whipped up by the Bolsheviks, spread all over Russia. The tsar and his advisers were frightened by the anger of the people and on October 17, 1905, the tsar published a proclamation in which he made vague promises of reforming the autocratic regime.

The Mensheviks, especially the Mensheviks of Transcaucasia where Comrade Stalin lived during this period, were furious because the workers had plunged into the struggle. They used every means in an effort to halt the uprising of the workers and peasants who were determined to fight.

The Mensheviks regarded the tsar's proclamation as a great achievement, a "great victory" and were of the opinion that an armed struggle was now out of the question.

In his book *On the History of the Bolshevik Organization in Transcaucasia*, Comrade L. Beria quotes the remarkable reminiscences of M. Torozhelidze which relate how the Georgian Mensheviks received the tsarist proclamation of 1905 and how Comrade Stalin appeared before the Georgian workers:

"The day on which the Proclamation of 1905 was issued," Comrade Torozhelidze reports, "a meeting was called in Nadsaladevi (Tiflis). The well-known Menshevik Noe Ramishvili stands on the platform and, triumphantly, announces: 'Henceforth there is no autocracy, the autocracy is dead. Russia is entering the ranks of the constitu-

tional monarchies. Henceforth our slogan will not be "Down With Absolutism," but "Down With the Monarchy." He is followed by several speakers who repeat the same thing. Finally, a speaker ends his speech with the words: 'We do not want arms, down with arms!' He also is enthusiastically applauded by the people. . . . At this moment, Comrade Koba (Stalin) appears on the platform: 'I must tell you that you have a bad habit,' he begins, 'no matter who speaks and no matter what he says, you greet him with joy and applause. They tell you: "Long live freedom," and you applaud. "Long live the Revolution," and you applaud. That is good, but when they tell you "Down with arms," you also applaud this. What revolution can be victorious without arms and what revolutionary would say: "Down with arms!" A speaker who says this is probably a Tolstolian, not a revolutionary and whoever he may be, he is an enemy of the Revolution and of the freedom of the people.'

"The people began to stir and voices asked: 'Who is that? What a biting speech! The language of a Jacobin!' Koba continues: 'What is needed for a real victory? For this three things are needed: first, we need arms, second, arms, third, again and again arms.' (*Applause.*)"

How could the twenty-five-year-old Stalin so courageously oppose a crowd which was under the influence of Menshevik lies?

Because Stalin was an integral part of that mass of people who wanted to struggle. Because these people saw in Stalin one of their own, a brother, a friend, a comrade, who lived with them, who felt their pains, their suffering, their misery,

their oppression; who struggled with them, who led them into the battles and who did not desert them in difficult moments.

They believed in him, they knew him as one who was incorruptible and who served the interests of the oppressed with boundless devotion, who was unyielding and relentless in the struggle against the servants of the autocracy, in the struggle against the enemies of the working class. The words, "We believe in Stalin, we trust Stalin," which years later were uttered by millions—workers, peasants, men and women—tortured by the capitalist oppressors, degraded and enslaved by the exploitation of the bourgeoisie in all capitalist countries and in the most backward colonial countries—these words were at that time and are today on the lips and in the hearts of those who are fighting in Stalin's ranks to liberate humanity from the fetters of exploitation and oppression.

And they were not deceived at that time, just as the workers today are not deceiving themselves. They who look back into the past, test the present, and peer into the future—standing above the bourgeois pseudo-patriotism with which the Social-Democratic leaders cloak the real aims of the present imperialist war—and in the factories and mines, in the fields, at the front and in the trenches, they say: "We have confidence in the policy of the Soviet Union, we have full confidence in Stalin."

And this happens because Stalin's word is always followed by deeds which correspond to this word.

Pitilessly, he criticized the philis-

tine and corrupt leaders of Social-Democracy who say one thing and do another; with the white-hot steel of his solid and indisputable sentences, he branded those who revealed an abyss between words and deeds; who claim to represent the cause of the working class, who speak of socialism, of peace, of right and justice, but who are really agents of the worst enemies of the workers.

"The workers cannot trust their leaders when these leaders sink into the swamp of the diplomatic game, when their words are not supported by deeds, when the words and deeds of leaders do not coincide. Why have the Russian workers displayed such boundless confidence in Comrade Lenin? Merely because his policies were correct? No. Not because of that alone, but also because they knew that there was no contradiction between Lenin's words and Lenin's deeds, because they knew: 'Lenin does not fool us!'

"It was on this, among other things, that Lenin's authority rested. That is how Lenin trained the workers, that is how he kept alive in them faith in leaders." (Stalin, "Speech to the German Commission of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International," *The Communist International*, No. 3, 1926, p. 286.)

And for the same reason, Stalin is loved by the Communists of all countries and, together with them, millions of workers and peasants who are enslaved by capitalism—even in the remotest countries of the world. For that reason, they believe in Stalin; for that reason, they trust him.

And they trust Stalin and believe

in Stalin not only because they see the correctness of his policies confirmed by their own experience, not only because the facts have proved the correctness of Stalin's predictions, but because they know Stalin's words are facts, deeds, because Stalin like Lenin "never deceives," that Stalin is firm and unshakeable in the cause of the toilers, in the cause of Communism.

Stalin is an irreconcilable enemy of all the bureaucracy of calculating politicians who believe that they are everything and the masses are nothing; who doubt the masses because they are afraid that when the Revolution is unleashed, the masses might "go too far" and overstep the bounds drawn by the laboratory "theoreticians" of the Revolution.

Stalin castigates the vices of pedantry, the disregard of the masses, the fear of them. Stalin is always with the masses, believes in them; he gives expression to this belief in the following words:

"Theoreticians and leaders of parties who know the history of nations, who have studied the history of revolutions from beginning to end, are sometimes afflicted with an unpleasant disease. This disease is known as fear of the masses, lack of confidence in the creative ability of the masses. Sometimes on this ground a certain aristocratic pose is displayed by leaders towards the masses who, although not versed in the history of revolutions, are destined to break up the old and build the new. The fear that the elements may break forth, that the masses may 'break up too much,' the desire to play the role of nurses who try to teach the masses from books but who refuse to learn from the masses

—such is this sort of aristocracy.” (J. V. Stalin, *Lenin*, p. 28, International Publishers, New York.)

In every situation, Comrade Stalin wants to make the masses conscious of their strength; he wants to uproot their old attitude that their leaders are “liberators,” “messiahs.” He wants every worker, every peasant, every toiler, to feel his own strength, to feel that he is a citizen, to become capable of being a hero at the front as well as the rear, a hero in every sphere of socialist construction. He wants to penetrate to the most backward sections of the people and arouse in them the feeling of collective strength, the pride of common achievement, the consciousness of the worth of every member of the great socialist family. Stalin is always a leader to the masses; at the same time, he always learns from the masses.

He “does not go down” to the workers in the sense that vain numbskulls give to these words—he but he raises them up to himself.

Let us see what he says in his speech in 1926 to the workers of Tiflis:

“Comrade Arakel (Okushvili) stated here that in the past he considered himself my teacher and me his pupil. That is quite right. I am and continue to be a pupil of the vanguard of the railroad shop workers of Tiflis.

“I recall back in 1898 when I was first entrusted with the conduct of a circle of railroad shop workers. It was 28 years ago. I remember when I acquired my first lessons in practical work in the home of Comrade Sturua, in the presence of Sylvester Dzhibladze (he was also

one of my teachers at that time), S. Tshodrushvili, George Tsheidze, Micho Botshorishvili, Comrade Kinua and other advanced workers of Tiflis. In comparison with these comrades, I was a beginner at that time. Maybe I was better read than many of these comrades, but as far as practical work was concerned I was unquestionably a beginner. Here in the circle of these comrades, I received my first revolutionary baptism. Here in the circle of these comrades I became an apprentice of the Revolution. As you see, the Tiflis workers were my first teachers. Allow me now to express to them my sincere fraternal thanks.

“I further recall the years 1905 to 1907 when the Party sent me to work in Baku. Two years of revolutionary work among the oil workers hardened me as a practical fighter and as one of the practical leaders. In my contact with such advanced workers of Baku as Vazek, Saratovetz and others, on the one hand, and in the storm of great struggles between the workers and the oil magnates, on the other hand, I learned for the first time what it means to lead large masses of workers. There in Baku, therefore, I received my second revolutionary baptism of fire. Allow me now to express my sincere, fraternal thanks to my Baku teachers.

Finally I recall the year 1917 when the Party sent me to Leningrad after the hardships of prison and exile. There, in the circle of the Russian workers, in the immediate proximity of the great teacher of the proletariat of all countries, Comrade Lenin, in the storm of great struggles between proletariat and bourgeoisie under the conditions created by the imperialist war, I learned to understand for the first time what it means to be one of the leaders of the great Party of the

working class. There in the circle of Russian workers, of the liberator of oppressed peoples and the champion of the proletarian struggle of all countries and nations, I received my third revolutionary baptism of fire. There in Russia, under Lenin's leadership, I became a master of revolution. Allow me to express my sincere, fraternal thanks to my Russian teachers and to bow my head in memory of my teacher, Lenin.

From apprentice (Tiflis) through journeyman (Baku) to master of our Revolution (Leningrad)—that, comrades, is the school of my revolutionary development. That, comrades, is the true picture of what I was and what I have become, if I am to speak honestly and without exaggeration." (Stalin's speech before the meeting of the central railroad shops in Tiflis, June 8, 1926.)

By consistent work, Comrade Stalin creates and develops the confidence of the masses in the leading Party of the revolution; for they see that shortcomings are openly corrected, mistakes criticized and that it is not afraid to admit its errors.

Stalin's vigilant eye discovers the weaknesses and uncovers them in order to correct them. Stalin castigates the "lacquered" Communists who are of the opinion that open criticism might undermine the authority of the Party or of its leaders. Comrade Stalin said the following regarding this at the meeting of the Moscow actives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) in 1928:

"I know there are people in the ranks of our Party who are not very fond of criticism in general

and self-criticism in particular. These people whom I should like to call 'lacquered' Communists shy away from self-criticism, and growl: 'That cursed self-criticism again; bringing up our shortcomings again; why don't they let us alone?' It is clear that these 'lacquered' Communists have nothing in common with the spirit of our Party, with the spirit of Bolshevism." (*International Press Correspondence*, No. 40, 1928, p. 711.)

And Comrade Stalin teaches us how we must utilize the initiative of the masses, how the Bolsheviks must listen attentively to their voices, and must investigate their complaints and troubles with affectionate care; he teaches us to appreciate the enormous value of the criticism and self-criticism of the masses.

"Often," Stalin says, "our critics are reprimanded because of the incompleteness of their criticism; they are reprimanded because their criticism is not always 100 per cent correct. Sometimes the demand is made that a criticism be correct in all its points, and when it is not correct in everything, people begin to denounce it, to drag it through the mire. That is false, comrades. That is a dangerous mistake. Just try to put forth such a demand and you will shut the mouths of hundreds and thousands of workers, of worker and peasant correspondents who want to correct our shortcomings but who do not always know how correctly to formulate their thoughts." (*Ibid.*, p. 712.)

". . . You must know that the workers sometimes hesitate to tell the truth about the defects of our work. . . . In order not to suppress

self-criticism, but to develop it, we must listen attentively to every criticism by the Soviet people, even when it is not entirely correct or not correct in every detail. Only under these conditions can the masses be convinced that they will not 'put their foot' into it by an inadequate criticism and that they will not be 'laughed at' because of some deficiency in their criticism. Only under this condition can self-criticism really acquire a mass character and really find a mass echo." (Stalin, *On the Work of the Enlarged April Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission*, April 13, 1928. pp. 9-11, Russ. ed.)

The profound love for Stalin, the boundless confidence of the workers in him, is not only confined to the Soviet people, to the workers and peasants of the Land of Socialism.

Everyone of us Communists who work in close contact with the masses of people any place in the world knows very well the profound love of the toilers, the exploited, for the man who embodies the longing for freedom of the oppressed throughout the world.

I recall our joy and emotion during the years before the rebellion of the Franco generals when we went on a propaganda tour in the Asturian mountains, in the heart of Castile, Andalusia or Estramadura, in localities where there was no organization—and when we arrived, a man or woman came to us from the village and joy and satisfaction radiated from their sunburned faces: "We have no Party but we have a little Stalin."

And they brought us their son,

a small lad whom they had named Stalin.

We asked: "Why did you do it?" And the answer was naive and simple: "Because Stalin is the best protector of the poor."

"And how do you know that?"

"Because they made a revolution in Russia and because they gave the land of the gentry to the peasants; the factories and mines no longer belong to the rich. There are no longer any bourgeois there. And Stalin has led this revolution, and because we also want that, we love Stalin; and we named our boy Stalin so that every day we see him he will remind us that we still have to make the revolution."

That may seem naive to many people; and yet, in the course of events; it was of profound significance.

In the revolutionary war of the Spanish people, it was, as we know, the peasants who supplied the greatest percentage of the people's army.

And Stalin's name was like the dawn of the coming freedom and the coming prosperity to the landless peasants of Asturias, Estramadura, Andalusia — in those provinces where we still had a chance to speak with the peasants before the war—and Castile. The name told them that the rule of the rich can be broken; it reminded them that there is a country in the world where this has already been realized and where the peasants and workers, masters of their own fate, live joyous and happy under the banner of socialism.

This feeling of boundless love and boundless confidence in Stalin has

been expressed by our whole people, all Spain, which has fought for its freedom and independence: the workers and the peasants who courageously and resolutely entered the heroic struggle for a revolutionary Spain. The day on which our Jose Diaz received the historic telegram from Comrade Stalin in which the best friend of the oppressed peoples said:

"If the toilers of the Soviet Union help the revolutionary masses, they are only doing their duty. They are aware that the liberation of Spain from the oppression of the fascist reactionaries is not the private affair of the Spaniards, but is the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind." (*The Communist International*, August, 1938, p. 708.)

This day was a day of jubilation and joy in republican Spain. In the cities and villages, at the fronts and at the rear, millions of voices, expressing what their hearts felt, cheered Stalin. In the factories and trenches, the workers and soldiers carved the name "Stalin" on their tools and on their gun-stocks. The most beautiful streets of the cities and the most important localities

were called: Soviet Union Avenue. And Stalin's picture had a place of honor in every home and his name lived in the hearts of all who fought and worked for a Spain freed from its age-old enemies.

Despite the difficult, terrible conditions under which our people live and struggle and offer stubborn resistance to its hangmen today, they cannot tear from the hearts of the toiling masses of Spain the memory of Stalin, of the noble unselfish aid which the great Soviet people generously gave our people in the unforgettable days of the heroic struggle.

Stalin is right when he says that only the people is immortal and everything else is transitory. But his work is as immortal as the people; for Stalin, the friend and collaborator of the great Lenin, has made it possible for the one hundred and eighty-three million people of the Soviet Union to live happily, for the people to feel free and build their own lives.

And in this immortality of the people, Stalin's name ever remains the beacon light illuminating the way for the struggles of today and tomorrow on humanity's road to communism.

THE MAN OF A NEW EPOCH

BY PETER WIEDEN

THE world-historic transformation which began October, 1917, and is driving towards ever-greater decisions, scarcely permits comparison with any past epoch. This transformation differs from the great revolutions of the past not only *quantitatively* but also *qualitatively*; not only in that it embraces whole continents, that enormous masses of human beings are set in motion, that the surge of events reaches the furthest corners of the earth, but also in that, for the first time, the masses of common people themselves have transformed social relations with increasing consciousness, that for the first time humanity is proceeding to save itself from the domination of blind elemental forces. It is the beginning of the epoch in which the objectively uncontrolled forces hitherto determining the course of history are subjected to the control of humanity itself.

All former social transformations have only brought into being forms of society which had already matured in the womb of the old society; the proletarian revolution has the task of establishing a new social order which was not already dormant in the womb of capitalism. All former social transformations

often led to a result that was in absolute contradiction to the wishes of the masses of people, whose activity had brought about the revolution; the socialist revolution was guided by the consciousness of the working class and its Party and hence led to the result which the masses had been striving for, which millions of people had dreamed of for hundreds of years, to the building of the socialist society. Through the revolutionary struggle of the working class, the development of humanity enters the realm of consciousness, the realm of conscious, planned activity. When we mention the names of the great revolutionary leaders and teachers of the working class, when we mention the name of *Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin*, we describe heights and perfection of human consciousness never before achieved.

* * *

Humanity is undergoing a tremendous experience in this century. Capitalism has broken through every provincial isolation. It has demolished the thousand-year old barriers between the peoples and continents and has drawn every people, every part of the world, into the orbit of world economy. The

productive forces have grown enormously. Science and technique have recorded fabulous achievements. However, the once creative power of capitalism is becoming an increasingly destructive power. Capitalist production relations are proving a brake on social and cultural development. The world-encompassing capitalist system is sick to the core, is in the process of decay. In the midst of plenty, hundreds of millions of people die of hunger, exhaustion, undernourishment. Some ten-thousand parasitic millionaires suck the blood from the veins and the marrow from the bones of billions of toilers. Economic crises and imperialist wars of unprecedented extent rage over the globe. Barbarism oozes like pus out of every pore of capitalist civilization. The very foundations of human society are undermined. In its death struggles, capitalism threatens to grind underfoot everything that it itself once produced.

The working class throws itself against dying capitalism which still displays surprising strength even while it is perishing. The working class is fighting not only for a bigger piece of bread and a greater amount of freedom; it is fighting for the future of humanity, for everything that makes life worth living and worthy of a human being. It is fighting so that the development of the human race will not come to an end but will go on to the complete unfolding of all the material and intellectual potentialities inherent in humanity.

Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the working

class won the historic victory on one-sixth of the earth, swept away capitalism, built socialism; five-sixths of the earth, however, is still writhing under the capitalist fury, nine-tenths of toiling humanity is still enduring the horrible rule of dying capitalism and is suffering real agony each year that this horrible rule is prolonged. The struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working class, between capitalism and socialism, is the most tremendous, costly and portentous struggle between the forces of a disappearing and an arising world. Never were such economic, political, military and intellectual forces at the disposal of an historically-doomed class; never has a rising class fought with all of its energies for such a grand unprecedented goal as the working class. Never has a class struggle shaken all the countries to such a degree, stirred up all phases of human life, as the struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie.

In his interview with the English writer, H. G. Wells, Comrade Stalin penetratingly characterized the nature of this world-historic struggle. "No," he replied to the writer who took the position that the capitalist system will break down "in any case":

"No, the substitution of one social system for another is a complicated and long revolutionary process. It is not simply a spontaneous process, but a struggle, it is a process connected with the clash of classes. Capitalism is decaying, but it must not be compared simply with a tree which has decayed to such an extent that it must

fall to the ground of its own accord. No, revolution, the substitution of one social system for another, has always been a struggle, a painful and a cruel struggle, a life and death struggle." (Joseph Stalin, *Marxism vs. Liberalism*: Interview with H. G. Wells, p. 16. International Publishers, New York.)

This painful and fierce struggle, this struggle between life and death, is more difficult and grander than any struggle ever required by human development. It is difficult because the bourgeoisie has at its disposal incomparably greater material and ideological forces than any ruling class ever had, because the working class is confronted by the task of carrying out not only a political but also an economic and cultural transformation; it is grander because its goal is the destruction of all class domination, the abolition of all exploitation and oppression of man by man, the emancipation of all human energies and abilities. The mastery of this unprecedented task is not possible if the people of the proletarian revolution do not, as it were, surpass themselves, if they do not raise a new type of man in their midst. Not all have the qualifications to belong to the revolutionary party of the working class, not all have the attributes that are indispensable for the proletarian revolution. Measure the proletarian revolution with larger yardsticks than have ever been used before, and by this yardstick many who measured up to the lesser yardsticks of the past become small and insignificant.

Nevertheless, there are people who become as clear and hard as

diamonds in this greatest revolution of history, whose whole greatness first becomes apparent when they are measured by the greatest yardstick known to history, the yardstick of proletarian revolution. One must realize *the incomparable greatness of this epoch*, the unprecedented tasks of the working class, in order to obtain the correct yardstick for the great leaders of the proletarian revolution, for Lenin and Stalin. One must realize that it is the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the epoch of perishing capitalism and rising socialism, in order to understand the nature and the significance of the new type of man. Anyone using another yardstick is not in a position to grasp the greatness of Lenin, the greatness of Stalin, and thereby to be filled with the proud and quickening consciousness of what greatness is inherent in the working class, what greatness is inherent in the building of socialism in the Soviet Union. *It is a new type of man, the Bolshevik type, whom we meet in his highest perfection in Lenin and Stalin.*

Comrade Stalin has defined the nature of this new type with superb accuracy. In his speech before the electors on December 11, 1937, he explained what one must demand of a Bolshevik deputy:

"The electors, the people, must demand of their deputies that they remain equal to their tasks, that in their work they should not descend to the level of political philistines, that they remain at their posts as public men of the type of Lenin, that they stand out as clear and definite public men as Lenin, that

they be just as fearless in battle and as merciless toward the enemies of the people as was Lenin, that they be free of all panic, of all semblance of panic when things become complicated and when some danger appears on the horizon, that they be just as free of any semblance of panic as Lenin was free, that they be just as sagacious and deliberate in deciding difficult questions which require an all-round orientation and all-round considerations of all pros and cons, as was Lenin, that they be just as truthful and honest as was Lenin, that they love their people as Lenin loved them." (*The Communist International*, No. 1, 1938, p. 5.)

To be like Lenin!—that is what Stalin prescribed to all Bolsheviks as the great and responsible task. To be like Stalin, that is the desire of all Bolsheviks, a desire which requires of oneself the greatest exertion, tireless work and Bolshevik ardor.

Lenin and Stalin are the same in the profoundest sense. They represent to highest perfection a new type of man, the Bolshevik type of man. Stalin is the Lenin of our day.

* * *

The bourgeois revolution also brought forth a new type of man. This type passed before us in imperishable figures, Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Galileo, Shakespeare, Newton, Goethe, Darwin—to mention only a few of the most perfect representatives of this type. All of these people had the common desire to penetrate nature, to investigate reality, to discover truth in reality, to oppose the schol-

astic speculations of the Middle Ages with the unqualified recognition of facts. Facts are the highest criteria for them. For them, reality is the only valid yardstick. Scientific theory arises as the sum of all observation, investigation and experience, inseparably bound up with scientific practice. Whether this new theory agrees with the words of the Bible or the Church Fathers is a matter of indifference to the investigator of nature, the investigator of truth; what is solely decisive is that it agrees with reality. The experiment, the "test of reality," acquires decisive significance.

"Facts, however, appeared important to me and that saved me. I could believe a fact, and so I investigated and tested every assertion!" declared a representative of this type, the English physicist, Faraday. And another representative of this type, the Russian physiologist, Pavlov, stresses this with the utmost vigor: "Facts—it is they that contain unshakeable, certain truth." The deep respect for facts leads step by step to the uncovering of the laws of nature. And again, practice has the last word: knowledge of nature means control of nature. A bourgeois scientist has stated "that science is for the purpose of making prophesy possible." Every genuinely scientific theory has a revolutionary effect in practice, is a further step out of enslavement by nature towards control over nature.

The greatest representatives of this type of man, who rose out of the transformation of medieval society through ascendant capitalism,

are characterized by a comprehensive versatility. For all that, the greatest representatives of this type of man did not succeed in overcoming the one-sidedness, the cleavage of man and his consciousness by capitalism. True, they proceeded to investigate nature, to reveal its laws, to recognize the unity of theory and practice in science—but all *social* phenomena remained outside of science. True, there were attempts also to discover the driving forces of human society—but these attempts either remained on the surface, saw only the relations between *things* and not the underlying relations between *men*, between the classes (bourgeois national economy), or, they were lost in speculations, mistook the wish for reality (the Utopians). Politics remained closed to science; in the sphere of social relations, in politics, the so-called “men of action,” who differed very little from their medieval colleagues, did as they pleased without restraint. In contradistinction to the great bourgeois thinkers and scientists, the Napoleons and Pitts, the Bismarcks and Disraelis, represented no new type of man. On the one hand, the philosophers and Utopians devised all sorts of “ideal” social systems; on the other hand reigned the naked empiricism of bourgeois “realpolitiker” *Here is an abyss between theory and practice.* And this abyss is a characteristic sign of capitalism. Capitalism is incapable of overcoming this contradiction.

It is Marxism-Leninism that overcomes this contradiction, that brings society and politics into

science. Marx and Engels break through the magic ring before which Galileo and Newton halted, the magic circle between natural science and social science. They uncovered the “natural laws” of capitalism, the laws of social development. They raised politics to the level of science. They established the complete unity of theory and practice. They teach the working class to understand the world in order to change the world. And thereby a new type of man arises who combines within himself the thinker as well as the man of action; thereby a new type of man arises who finds his highest expression in Lenin and Stalin, the type of man in whom is embodied *the complete unity of science and politics, of philosophy and mass leadership, of theory and practice.*

The great representatives of bourgeois science and knowledge of the world were “lonely people.” The problem of loneliness plays a significant role in the history of these men. The thinkers and artists of the bourgeois era were not only isolated from the masses by social conditions, but many of them had increased this isolation themselves and displayed arrogant contempt for the masses. The relation of the revolutionary thinkers of the working class to the masses is altogether different. They are bound up most closely with the masses. They have their roots in the masses as in mother earth. They draw their strength from the masses and let this strength flow back a thousandfold into the masses. They awaken slumbering abilities in the masses, they learn from them and teach

them to change the world through the conscious use of their own strength.

The contradiction resulting from class society, between the mass and the individual, with all of its tragic and all of its ridiculous consequences, is overcome by the revolutionary labor movement. Individual and mass merge in complete unity and harmony in the Socialist Revolution. The work of Lenin and Stalin is, at the same time, the work of the masses themselves, the common people, who are the real creators of history.

Shakespeare, in his drama, *The Tempest*, has set up a permanent monument to the scientific man, to the tamer of the forces of nature, to the lonely thinker of the bourgeois era. The "magician" Prospero, ruling over all nature on a lonely island, finally lays down the magic wand in order to return to anarchic human society. The Prosperos of our day, the representatives of the common people, the working class and their Party, do not live on a "magic island." They not only rule over the forces of nature; permeated by the comprehensive science of the present, by Marxism-Leninism, they change the world. Not an isolated laboratory but the whole world is their sphere of activity, the whole world with its class struggles, with its convulsions and revolutions. The wisdom of the man of knowledge merges with the boldness of the man of action; the discovery of the laws of social development combines with active intervention in social development; theory combines with practice.

This synthesis, this hitherto non-

existent union of thought and deed in every sphere of human society is the innermost essence of the Bolsheviks. The revolutionary, the dialectic politics of the Bolsheviks is the greatest triumph of science. Foresight of the future and through it the conscious influencing of events is singularly characteristic of the politics of the Bolsheviks.

Let us recall the unfounded jubilation which seized the capitalists and their Social-Democratic underlings in 1928 and 1929 in face of the economic boom in the capitalist countries. Let us recall their declarations that now capitalism was "stabilized," that now capitalism was advancing towards a future "free of crises." And let us recall that it was Comrade Stalin alone who predicted the new terrible economic crisis; and in 1928, when he unmasked the Right opportunists he pointed out with clear foresight the further development of capitalism. At the initiative of Comrade Stalin, the delegates of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik) to the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, brought in an amendment to the theses on the international situation:

"... from which it is evident that capitalist stabilization is not solid and cannot be solid, that the course of events following the intensification of the crisis of world capitalism shatters it and will continue to shatter it."

The pseudo-scholars of the capitalist world characterized these predictions then as a "pipe dream." Facts, however, have confirmed the predictions of Comrade Stalin with incomparable clarity.

This prediction, the correct orientation of the Communists on the further development of events, was possible only on the basis of the profound and all-sided scientific analysis of Marxism-Leninism. People engaged purely in practice, purely "realpolitiker," will never be able to foresee events in this manner; routine can never supplant science. As true men of science, the Bolsheviks listen to the language of facts. As true men of science, they investigate and generalize the course of events in the past and in the present in order to foresee the future course of development. As true men of science, they test every theory in practice; they constantly infuse theory with practice.

Let us take an example to see how this unique interaction of theory and practice works. It was Comrade Stalin who, in his philosophical masterpiece "On Dialectical and Historical Materialism," characterized one of the features of the Marxist dialectical method in the following words:

"Contrary to metaphysics, dialectics does not regard nature as an accidental agglomeration of things, of phenomena, unconnected with, isolated from, and independent of, each other, but as a connected and integral whole, in which things, phenomena, are organically connected with, dependent on, and determined by, each other.

"The dialectical method, therefore, holds that no phenomenon in nature can be understood if taken by itself, isolated from surrounding phenomena, inasmuch as any phenomenon in any realm of nature may become meaningless to us if it is not considered in connection

with the surrounding conditions, but divorced from them; and that, vice versa, any phenomenon can be understood and explained if considered in its inseparable connection with surrounding phenomena, as one conditioned by surrounding phenomena." (*History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [Bolsheviks]*, p. 106, International Publishers, New York.)

We must forego demonstrating here the significance of this for the natural sciences and we shall content ourselves with showing what it means for the revolutionary politics of the working class. Philosophy and politics? How are they connected? Well now, for the Bolsheviks, this very unity of philosophy and politics, of thought and action, is characteristic.

It was Lenin who characterized imperialism as a *world system* in which the individual national economies and national territories are only links in a single chain. In his lectures on "Foundations of Leninism," Comrade Stalin, developing this theory of Lenin's, pointed out:

"Formerly, the proletarian revolution was regarded as the consequence of an exclusively internal development in a given country. At the present time, this point of view is inadequate. Today it is necessary to regard the proletarian revolution above all as the result of the development of the contradictions within the world-system of imperialism, as the result of the snapping of the chain of the imperialist world-front in this or that country. . . . The chain of the imperialist front should break, as a rule, where the links are the most fragile and in any event not necessarily where capitalism is most developed or

where there is a considerable percentage of proletarians and relatively few peasants, and so on.

"This is why statistical calculations based on the proportion of the proletariat to the population of a given country lose, in the solution of the question of the proletarian revolution, the exceptional importance so eagerly attached to them by the statisticians of the Second International, who have not understood imperialism and who fear revolution like the plague." (Joseph Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. I, pp. 33, 35.)

We see here the direct connection between Marxist philosophy and the political struggle of the working class. We must regard nature in its totality, as a single connected whole in order to understand and explain any given phenomenon. We must regard a world-system like imperialism in its totality, as a single connected whole in order to draw the correct revolutionary conclusions. The Bolsheviks, as we know, have drawn the correct revolutionary conclusions from this correct scientific knowledge and have realized the socialist revolution in Russia and the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union.

Creative Marxism found its superb expression in the theory of the victory of socialism in one country, worked out by Comrade Stalin, the theory of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union under the conditions of capitalist encirclement. In his study "The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists," (*Leninism*, Vol. I, p. 105), Comrade Stalin has pointed out that the victory of socialism in

one country "is not a self-sufficient task." With incomparable clarity, he characterized the interaction between the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union and the struggle of the international working class; he showed how, on the one hand, the workers and toilers of the other countries support the land of victorious socialism and, on the other hand, how the development and consolidation of victorious socialism on one-sixth of the earth signify the greatest aid for the revolutionary struggle of the workers and toiling masses of the other countries.

"The characteristic feature of the assistance given by the victorious country is that it not only hastens the victory of the proletarians of other countries, but likewise guarantees, by facilitating this victory, the final victory of socialism in the first victorious country." (Joseph Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. I, p. 136.)

The revolutionary policies of the Party of Lenin and Stalin which assure the victory of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, are inseparably connected with the revolutionary philosophy, with the dialectical science of Marxism-Leninism. We see how these very policies are reflected in the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism and how this philosophy finds expression in the policies of the Bolsheviks.

* * *

The struggle for socialism stands in the center of the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism. In order to translate this science into deeds, in order to change the world

and not only interpret it, the utmost human boldness, determination, perseverance, devotion, discipline and readiness to sacrifice are required; an entirely new type of man is needed. A type of man that has never existed before is necessary in order to master the hitherto unexisting task of the proletarian revolution. In the *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 319), Karl Marx has described this task as follows:

"Proletarian revolutions, on the other hand, like those of the nineteenth century, criticize themselves constantly, interrupt themselves continually in their own course, come back to the apparently accomplished in order to begin it afresh, deride with unmerciful thoroughness the inadequacies, weaknesses and paltrinesses of their first attempts, seem to throw down their adversary only in order that he may draw new strength from the earth and rise again more gigantic before them, recoil ever and anon from the indefinite prodigiousness of their own aims, until the situation has been created which makes all turning back impossible, and the conditions themselves cry out:

"Hic Rhodus, hic salta!"

*"Hier ist die Rose, hier tanze!"**

The revolutionary working class is waging a magnificent, heroic struggle against capitalism, against every form of exploitation and oppression. However, some unstable sections of the proletariat do not always believe in their own strength and capitulate now and then before

the bourgeoisie. Basing themselves on these sections, the agents of the bourgeoisie in the labor movement attempt to induce the entire working class to recoil from the fulfillment of its task and to capitulate before capitalism. In the struggle against Social-Democracy, against all varieties of opportunism and capitulation, Lenin and Stalin forged the *Bolshevik Party*, this incomparable welding of the boldest, most resolute, tenacious, devoted, disciplined and sacrificing people of our epoch. Comrade Stalin, who himself most completely represents this type of man, has dedicated the following magnificent words to him:

"Have you ever seen fishermen before the storm on a large river like the Yenisei, for example? I have often seen them. In face of the storm that has broken out, a group of fishermen mobilize all their energies, spur on their people and boldly steer the boat into the storm: 'Hold the rudder tighter lads, cut the waves, we'll make it!'"

And Comrade Stalin branded all the opportunists in the following words:

"But there are also other kinds of fishermen who, sensing the approaching storm, lost their courage, begin to whine, and demoralize their own ranks: 'What a misfortune. The storm is breaking loose, get down on the bottom of the boat, lads, close your eyes, maybe somehow we'll be driven to the shore.'"

Maybe somehow we'll be driven to the shore! That is the cry of that *theory of spontaneity* which Lenin and Stalin always mercilessly combated. The stone in its fall follows

* "*Here is Rhodes, leap here!*
"Here is the rose, dance here!"

an eternal iron law. Social systems, however, do not fall like stones, for their molecules are living people with interests and demands, with their hopes and fears, with their commissions and omissions. *It is a matter of these living people, of winning them and educating them, of strengthening them and testing them, of enhancing their powers and abilities.*

Comrade Stalin has always regarded this task as a central task of the Party of the working class; to him people were always the most important thing. To develop cadres and educate them in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, to enable the working class to accomplish the greatest achievement of world history, to enhance its consciousness of power and its confidence in victory—this was and is the greatest concern of the great Stalin.

The most profound knowledge is fruitless if people succumb to events, if they give way to despair: Maybe somehow we'll be driven to the shore. Maybe capitalism will collapse of its own accord. Maybe the new social order will arise without struggle, without revolution. No, it will not arise without struggle, without revolution. Events themselves are driving this truth home to the working class. The imperialists, by their criminal war with which they combine the most savage offensive against the working class, have themselves driven this life and death struggle to the extreme. In order not to go down in blood and misery, the working class must hurl itself with all its strength against the imperialist war and its instigators. In order not to

be sacrificed to alien interests, it must be ready to make sacrifices for its own interests which are in harmony with the interests of all humanity. And because this struggle is unavoidable, the Party must demand of its members the utmost boldness, steadfastness, firmness, resoluteness; it must measure all Bolsheviks by constantly new standards as people have never been measured before. And once again, it is philosophy, once again the world view of Marxism-Leninism from which inexhaustible sources of strength well up. And once again it is Stalin who summarized these inexhaustible sources of strength in the deep well of his teachings:

"The dialectical method regards as important primarily not that which at the given moment seems to be durable and yet is already beginning to die away, but that which is arising and developing, even though at the given moment it may appear to be not durable, for the dialectical method considers invincible only that which is arising and developing." (*History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [Bolsheviks]*, p. 107.)

That which is arising and developing is invincible. Never before was that expressed with such proud composure. That is the Stalinist world view in which the unparalleled victories of socialism are reflected.

Let imperialism appear strong at the given moment—it has already begun to die out.

Let the working class in this or another capitalist country appear weak at the given moment—it carries within its womb the new, which

is arising and developing, the revolution, socialism.

This profound dialectic thought was expressed in the following terms by Comrade Stalin in his historic report to the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.):

"The chief endeavor of the bourgeoisie of all countries and of its reformist hangers-on is to kill in the working class faith in its own strength, faith in the possibility and inevitability of its victory, and thus to perpetuate capitalist slavery. For the bourgeoisie knows that if capitalism has not yet been overthrown and still continues to exist, it has not itself to thank, but the fact that the proletariat has still not faith enough in the possibility of its victory. It cannot be said that the efforts of the bourgeoisie in this respect have been altogether unsuccessful. It must be confessed that the bourgeoisie and its agents among the working class have to some extent succeeded in poisoning the minds of the working class with the venom of doubt and skepticism. If the successes of the working class of our country, if its fight and victory serve to rouse the spirit of the working class in the capitalist countries and to strengthen its faith in its own power and in its victory, then our Party may say that its work has not been in vain. And

there need be no doubt that this will be the case." (J. V. Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union*, pp. 62-63, International Publishers, New York.)

There need be no doubt that this will be the case. The language of socialist facts will rise above the roar of dying capitalism. Socialism is invincible.

The working class of the whole world sees the guarantee of its victory in the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union, in this own newly awakening consciousness of strength, in the fact that from out of its midst arose and is constantly arising anew the incomparable type of man, the Bolshevik, in the fact that all the boldness and wisdom, the profundity of thought, and the greatness of achievement inherent in the working class, merged and raised to singular perfection is embodied in the person of Comrade Stalin.

To become like Stalin!

To be victorious like the Bolsheviks!

This wish will take hold of the working class of the whole world with increasing, creative force and will help it, not only to recognize its great historic tasks but also to fulfil them.

ANGLO-AMERICAN CONTRADICTIONS IN THE SECOND IMPERIALIST WAR

BY E. VARGA

WITH the lifting of the arms embargo in the present war, the United States—just as in the first imperialist World War—placed itself on the side of England and France. *Formally* this is concealed by the “cash and carry” provision; that is, whoever *pays* and carries the arms in their *own* ships may buy war material in the U.S.A. *Actually*, however, the large resources of the U.S.A. are merely at the disposal of England and France for the time being and not at the disposal of Germany. Because Anglo-French naval power dominates the seas, Germany is unable to secure any goods from the U.S.A. (except by a roundabout way through neutral countries).

The partisanship of the United States for England is utilized by British policy in order to create the appearance of the absence of any contradictions between the two mightiest imperialist states. This, of course, is incorrect. It is basically impossible for no contradictions to exist between the U.S.A. and England in the period of imperialism. Economically, the U.S.A. is the most powerful imperialist country. Its relatively slight colonial possessions

in nowise correspond to its economic and military power. Historical circumstances of free land and unlimited natural resources within its own territory made it possible for American monopoly capital temporarily to attach less importance to colonial conquests; made it possible to draw upon huge quantities of cheap labor from all over the world for exploitation within its own territory, instead of investing capital in colonial countries with rich natural resources and cheap labor power. These circumstances are now a matter of the past. There is no more free land. Immigration had to be prohibited because of chronic mass unemployment. American monopoly capital is hungry for colonial conquest.

In its striving for colonial conquests, the United States unfailingly encounters the world-wide interests of the British Empire; England rules a colonial empire of 480,000,000 inhabitants, more than double the population of the colonies of all the other imperialist powers together. In addition, it keeps a number of formally independent countries: Egypt, Iraq, Portugal, Argentina, etc., in more or less complete eco-

nomic and political dependence. American monopoly capital's effort to expand therefore meets English rivalry everywhere. The Anglo-American contradiction, if not the most acute, is still one of the most important latent imperialist contradictions at present.

This is not in contradiction with the circumstance that the United States is supporting England in its war against Germany, that in the first imperialist World War, it formed an alliance with England. There are various forms of the struggle between imperialists. The formation of a war bloc, a common war against other imperialist powers do not mean that the imperialist contradictions cease to operate within the bloc! In the World War, a sharp contradiction existed between England and tsarist Russia: the English attempt to conquer the Dardanelles was directed against Russia no less than against Turkey. A sharp contradiction existed between Germany and Austria-Hungary on the question of how the conquered territory in the East was to be divided.

The contradiction between the U.S.A. and England likewise continued unchanged during the first imperialist war. The participation of the U.S.A. in the World War on the side of England, under the circumstances at that time, was actually the best way for American monopoly capital to enrich itself at the expense of its English rival, to strengthen its international position, above all, its position on the American continent, at England's expense. And American monopoly capital also wants to utilize the present war

for the purpose of strengthening its positions of power on the American continent at England's expense, to drive England, first of all, from the American continent and also from other parts of the world, to carry out that policy which it initiated with great success in the first imperialist war.

What was the result of the first imperialist war from the standpoint of American monopoly capital?

1. American monopoly capital was tremendously enriched by supplying war materials to England and France. The total profit of all American corporations in 1916-18 was nearly five billion dollars higher per year than in 1912-14. The lion's share was pocketed, of course, by the big monopolies whose profits increased tenfold. It is true, *the country lost ten billion dollars* which the Entente governments, England, France, Italy, etc., did not pay; but the loss was not borne by the monopoly capitalists but by the tax-payers who, to this day, must provide the taxes for the American state debt swollen by the unpaid loans to the Allied powers.

2. The war supplies to the Entente countries produced an enormously favorable balance of trade for the United States. During the six years from 1915 to 1920, United States exports amounted to approximately 37 billion dollars and imports to approximately 19 billion dollars. The export surplus reached the enormous sum of 18 billion dollars. In order to meet this, therefore, the English capitalists had to resell their American securities to the U.S. (40 per cent of the war supplies were paid for with Ameri-

can securities), turn over large sums of gold to the U.S. (15 per cent of the supplies were paid in gold) and, finally, make big loans in the U.S. *The United States changed from a debtor country, to some extent financially dependent on England, into a creditor country.*

The following figures show the tremendous change in the position of the U.S.A. as a result of the war:

*Foreign Capital Investments in the U.S.A.**

(In millions of dollars)

	July 1, 1914	Dec. 31 1919
Total	7,090	3,362
Britain's share of this	4,250	1,595

*U. S. Capital Investments Abroad***

	July 1, 1914	Dec. 31 1919
Total	3,514	6,956

These figures, which are not too accurate, show that in 1914 the United States owed a net sum of approximately \$3,500,000,000 abroad, but in 1919 held net claims on foreign countries of \$4,600,000,000. American monopoly capital freed itself, first of all, from financial dependence upon England; before the war, English capitalists owned \$2,-800,000,000 in American railroad securities; at the end of the war, only \$770,000,000.***

3. The economic position of English capital on the American continent outside of the United States was considerably weakened while the position of American capital

was strengthened at its expense. This is shown most clearly in the distribution of capital investments on the American continent.

*U.S. Capital Investments on the American Continent**
(In millions of dollars)

	1914	1919	1923	1929
Canada	867	1,543	2,450	3,660
Central and S. Amer.	1,649	2,406	3,760	5,429
Total	2,516	3,949	6,210	9,089

We can see how the capital investments of the U.S. increased at a progressive rate during the war and after the war, especially in Canada which, politically, constitutes a part of the British Empire.

In contrast to this, the capital investments of England on the American continent (exclusive of the U.S.) have scarcely increased since the World War.

*British Capital Investments on the American Continent***
(In millions of dollars)

	1914	1930
Canada	2,412	2,460
Central and S. Amer.	3,679	4,044
Total	6,091	6,504

Before the war, English capital investments in Canada and Latin America were more than double those of America; in 1929, American capital investments were one and a half times the British.

* Cleona Lewis, *American Stake in International Investments*, p. 546, Washington, 1938.

** *Ibid.*, p. 606.

*** *Ibid.*, p. 546.

* *Ibid.*, p. 606; for 1923: R. W. Dunn, *America's Foreign Investments*, p. 182.

** For 1914: O. R. Hobson, *The Function of Foreign Lending*, p. 3, 1937. For 1930: *The Problem of International Investment*, London, p. 142, 1937. The Pound figured at \$4.86.

In the struggle for foreign trade, the World War likewise produced a change in favor of the U.S.A. The Balfour committee gives the following figures:* Of the total world imports in 1913, England had 15.1 per cent, the U.S.A. 11.9 per cent. Ten years later, England's share amounted to 14 per cent, that of the U.S.A. 16.9 per cent. The U.S.A. had greatly surpassed England in exports!

The struggle in the sphere of foreign trade was especially sharp in the countries of the American continent and led to a decided change in favor of the U.S.A. at England's expense.

*The Share of the U.S.A. and England in the Foreign Trade of the American Countries***
(In per cent)

<i>Latin America's Imports</i>			
	1913	1929	1937
From the U.S.A.....	23.7	38.5	33.9
From England	20.1	15.0	13.0

<i>Latin America's Exports</i>			
	1913	1929	1937
To the U.S.A.....	26.0	34.0	30.4
To England	18.4	18.4	17.4

The figures show clearly that English exports were definitely being pushed back by American exports in the post-war period.

This can be seen even more clearly in the case of Canada, although as a dominion, it is politically a part of the British Empire.

The following figures show the process:*

Canada's imports in percentages of total imports:

	1912-13	1923-24	1929
From England	20.7	17.2	15.0
From the U.S.A.....	65.0	67.3	68.8

Canada's exports in percentages of total exports:

	1913	1923-24	1929
To England	49.9	34.5	24.5
To the U.S.A.....	37.9	41.2	44.3

These figures show quite unmistakably that England is being pushed out of the Canadian market. The Ottawa Agreement represented the attempt of the English bourgeoisie to halt this tendency. The attempt was temporarily successful; England's foreign trade with its dominions has been proportionately higher in recent years than in 1929. The second imperialist war offers American monopoly capital the favorable opportunity to improve its positions by leaps and bounds at the expense of English capital.

* * *

As soon as the European war began, American finance capital began its offensive to drive out its European competitors, above all England, from the markets of South America. On September 1, 1939, the very first day of the European war, the *Wall Street Journal* was already writing under the heading "With Europe Preoccupied, American Firms Are Strengthening Their Business in Latin America": The article states:

* *Survey of Overseas Markets*, p. 316, London, 1925, for 1912-13 and 1923-24. For other years, above sources.

* *Survey of Overseas Markets*, p. 667, 1925.
** Based on the data of *Statistical Abstract of the U.S.A.*; *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, 1939, No. 1; *Memorandum on Balance of Payment and Foreign Trade Balance, 1910-1923*, Vol. I; *Statistique du Commerce International*, 1937, etc.

"Major American industries are actively considering possibility of obtaining a larger share of the profitable Latin American market as a result of disturbed European conditions."

Two days later, another leading organ of finance capital published an article under the title, "The United States Promotes Trade with Latin America."

All government officials of the U.S.A. up to President Roosevelt support the effort of American finance capital to drive out European capital from South America. Roosevelt demanded an increase of several hundred million dollars for the Export-Import Bank in order to finance exports to South America. (*The New York Times*, Oct. 4, 1939.) The same demand is made by the American Chamber of Commerce. (*The New York Times*, Sept. 21, 1939.)

The present war offers American monopoly capital a particularly favorable opportunity to strengthen its positions in South America at the expense of European capital. German competition has been excluded by the English blockade; English competition has been considerably weakened by the war.

The situation is characterized in the following words by a leading economic periodical:

"The war in Europe has created a golden opportunity for the United States to conquer the Latin American markets and they are quickly taking advantage of it. . . . Since they have lost their European markets or have been cut off from them, the Latin American states are compelled to turn to the United States

which is now offering them large export credits through the Export-Import Bank. . . . Great Britain must pursue a long-range constructive policy towards its Latin American markets if it is not to lose the major part of what is still left."

The November issue of the *National City Bank Bulletin* writes as follows concerning England's resistance:

"It would be a mistake to assume that the British are easily surrendering their Latin American markets. . . . Great Britain continues to drive her textile production hard and British sources declare the intention to give export trade priority over all but war industries in order to obtain foreign exchange and to avert permanent loss of export markets."

In the struggles for South American markets, the wealth of the United States, strange as it may seem, is in many respects a disadvantage. The United States is the only one among the most highly developed industrial countries to suffer from overproduction of agricultural commodities: wheat, corn, meat, fats and cotton. Argentina and Uruguay specialize in the production of wheat and cattle. The United States has no home market for its enormous surpluses of agricultural commodities just as it has no need for the rapidly increasing cotton surplus of Brazil, whereas England offers a ready market for these commodities. American big capital is demanding for 1940 the doubling of imports from South America, which amounted to approximately \$450,000,000 in 1938.

(*Koelnische Zeitung*, Nov. 17, 1939.)

A sharp struggle around this question is taking place in the United States between industrial capital, which is calling for increased imports of agricultural products from South America, primarily meat from Argentina, and the farmers who want to maintain the existing restrictions.

In order to be able to dispose of more industrial commodities in South America, without increasing the import of agricultural commodities, American finance capital is resorting to the weapon of large-scale extension of credits, not from its own resources but, wherever possible, from government funds. *The New York Times* writes as follows on this point:

"It is becoming more generally recognized that the United States cannot hope to take advantage of the present opportunity to expand its South American trade without arranging some method of supplying these potential buyers with the necessary foreign exchange. This country cannot economically import South American products in sufficient quantities to supply that necessity. Thus, about the only alternative is to extend credits in one form or another, and the use of some of our gold stock appears as the most logical at the moment." (Oct. 22, 1939.)

The short period of time that has already elapsed since the outbreak of the European war has not been sufficient to allow all of American capital's fighting resources fully to unfold. But in November, U.S. exports to South America has already amounted to \$33,000,000 as com-

pared to \$23,000,000 in the previous year, an increase of over 40 per cent. Exports to Canada rose to the same degree. An initial success has already been recorded therefore.

At the same time, American capital is beginning to push out English capital in the sphere of South American investments.

Thus, the American Steel Trust has succeeded in securing a concession for the exploitation of Brazilian iron ore which had been given to a British company about twenty years ago but which the latter had not utilized. The U.S. Steel Corporation intends to invest \$30,000,000 in Brazil and to erect furnaces in Rio de Janeiro with an annual capacity of 300,000 tons of steel. (*The New York Times*, Oct. 1, 1939.)

With the beginning of the war, as was the case in the World War, England's position in the sphere of foreign trade began to weaken. America's favorable balance of trade with England, which had also prevailed in peace time, became even more favorable for the U.S. as a result of the war. The favorable balance would be even greater had not a part of the exports to England from the U.S.A. been designated in the statistics as exports to Canada.

Corresponding to America's favorable balance of trade with England is an even more favorable balance of *payments* since spending by American tourists in England and England's income from steamship traffic with the U.S. have been eliminated as a result of the war. That means that since it can export fewer commodities as a result of the

war, England must pay large monthly sums in gold or securities to the United States. (It will not be easy for England to receive loans in the U.S. after the bitter experiences of the World War.) The increasing difficulties arising from this situation for England are already clearly manifest. *The English pound which amounted to \$4.68 as a monthly average in August, 1939, fell to \$3.99 in September and can be kept at this level only by large shipments of gold.*

In the struggle between English and American currency, the United States has already won a great victory over England. The pound-bloc has fallen apart: a majority of countries, which had tied their currency to the pound before September, have given up the pound basis and have put themselves on a dollar basis; they use the dollar to conduct their international trade. The dollar has replaced the pound as the world currency!***

As was the case in the first World War, the process of the wholesale transfer of values from England to the United States in the form of gold and securities has already begun. The English Government has called in all foreign securities in the possession of English capitalists in order to sell them in the United States. American finance capital is

already engaged in coldly calculating on what it can take away from England in capital investments as a result of the war. In the October issue of the *National City Bank Bulletin*, we find the following table:

<i>England's Gold Supply and Dollar Credits</i> (In millions of dollars)		
	1914	1939
Gold at home and abroad	795	2,200
Bank credits in the U.S.A.	270	580
American securities in English possession	3,650	1,090
Direct investments in U.S.A.	600	700
	<hr/> 5,315	<hr/> 4,570

American monopoly capital, however, has not only aimed at the gold and the English capital investments in the U.S.A., which were still considerable after the World War, but particularly at English capital investments in the rest of America. The sale of American securities previously in British possession is already so far under way that a sudden drop occurs from time to time on the New York Stock Exchange as a result of the heavy supply of securities from England.*

There can be no doubt that a prolongation of the European war will

* Such states are: Japan, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Estonia, Latvia, Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Paraguay, Portugal, Yugoslavia. Most of the South American countries have transferred their gold reserves from London to New York.

** American finance capital is making special efforts to drive the pound sterling out of South America. The conference of the finance ministers of the countries of America that took place in Guatemala in the middle of last November came out for the same basis for all American currencies. (*Berliner Boersen-Zeitung*, Nov. 24, 1939.)

* In America, various plans are being considered on how to get hold of the securities in British possession without precipitating a drop on the Stock Exchange. They are planning to establish a huge investment trust in Canada which would take over the securities and, on this basis, issue obligations in the U.S.A. amounting to a billion dollars. This amount is to be placed immediately at England's disposal for the purchase of war materials, while the securities are gradually brought onto the market.

enable American monopoly capital to gain control of almost all English capital investments on the American continent and, finally, drive out English capital from the positions it still holds in South and Central America.

* * *

The struggle of the United States against England is not restricted to the economic sphere. The United States is endeavoring to drive England out of Latin America by means of *political* pressure also. The chief instrument for this purpose is "*Pan-Americanism*," the grouping of all South and Central American countries in the most diverse, if hitherto loose, forms under the actual tutelage of the U.S.A.: the Monroe Doctrine, the Pan-American Conference, the idea of a three-hundred-mile ocean frontier zone around the American continent, the tying of all currencies to the dollar, represent such attempts.

Besides, American imperialism—as was also the case after the World War—will raise the demand for the surrender of the English (and French*) colonial possessions still existing in Latin America as compensation for English debts or for monetary indemnity. The British possessions in the Caribbean Sea, which the U.S. is more and more resolutely claiming as its "inner sea," include, on the South American mainland: British Guiana, territory 232,000 square kilometers, pop-

ulation 311,000; in Central America: British Honduras, territory 21,500 square kilometers, population 51,000; numerous islands in the Caribbean Sea with a territory of about 20,000 square kilometers and a population of about 2,000,000 inhabitants.*

These English possessions do not represent any *strategic* threat to the United States; the superiority of the American navy and army in *American* waters is established. But these English possessions, in the hands of the United States, would particularly strengthen its strategic position in relation to Central and South America. Economically also, these islands, abounding in natural resources, would constitute a dainty morsel for American capital.

The imperialist financial magnates of the United States will do everything in their power to subject the Central and South American countries to their domination. These aggressive aspirations constitute a serious menace not only to the Latin American peoples but also to the toilers in the United States proper, especially to the suffering farmers.

The situation has changed fundamentally for the Latin American peoples as the result of the outbreak of the imperialist war in Europe. Today, it is no longer German imperialism, which has its hands full, but rather Yankee imperialism, on the lookout for booty, that is the immediate threat to the *independence of the Latin*

* French possessions in the Caribbean Sea cover 93,000 square kilometers with a population of about 600,000. The valuable parts are the islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique.

* The most important are: Jamaica with over one million inhabitants, Trinidad with a half million—both *rich* territories.

American countries. And as the European war also ties the hands of English imperialism to a large extent, the preponderance of Yankee imperialism in Central and South America is overwhelming.

The Latin American peoples will therefore be compelled to exert every effort to defend themselves against the threatening enslavement by the Wall Street robbers. Their common interests require common resistance against United States imperialism and the utmost vigilance against the traitorous machinations of large sections of their native bourgeoisie who are performing lackey service for the foreign imperialists and are actively participating in their intrigues against the Soviet Union and against the peo-

ple's desire for peace. The Latin American peoples, today, can expect no help from any of the imperialist powers; they would be ill-advised indeed if they failed to concentrate on their own affairs and permitted themselves to be used to pull chestnuts out of the fire for foreign imperialists. No one but the Latin American toilers themselves can call a halt to the aggressive designs of Yankee imperialism. It will depend primarily on the strength, the determination and the unanimity of the Latin American toilers whether all America is transformed into a colony of Wall Street or whether the Latin American countries succeed in defending themselves against the predatory onslaught.

CITRINE RESORTS TO THE MUZZLE

BY W. LEITNER

INDUSTRIAL NEWS, the information bulletin of the General Council of the English Trade Union movement, recently carried the significant news that the General Council had asked the proper English Government authorities for permission to suspend the sessions of the leading bodies and conferences of the trade unions, that is, to suspend the legal rights of the members.

As we see, the war for "freedom and democracy" which the Citrines, Attlees and Greenwoods have supposedly inscribed on their banners is bearing the strangest kind of fruit. Not only do the leaders of the English Labor movement grant recruits and funds to the Chamberlain Government, not only do they not lift a finger to aid in achieving their alleged war aims, let us say, in India, first of all. No, the irony of fate decrees that they who have supposedly been chosen to aid in the victory of democracy and freedom in all of Europe should be zealously at work in their own England to abolish completely the wretched remnants of these institutions.

In France, the Daladier Government, spurred on by the fine informer's service of such worthy

"democrats" as Jouhaux and Blum, simply throws Communist and Socialist workers into prison when they dare to say anything against the war, and their unions are under police control. In England, they still try to do such things in a more refined way. As long as there is a prospect of involving other peoples in this war for sacred capital investments, especially the masses of the American people, the Chamberlains and Citrines still hold off the police club which, once it appears, might all too easily discredit the "democratic" facade.

As it is, the world is already forming an opinion of the penal censorship which is making a farce of the freedom of the press in England. Even before the war, it was only freedom to lie and deceive for the capitalists, the press being concentrated in a few powerful concerns.

However, the powerful censorship apparatus is impotent when workers at meetings and conferences give expression to their feelings about the war and these so-called "democrats." No matter how loudly the well-dressed leaders of "His Majesty's Opposition" may proclaim national unity with Chamberlain, the echo resounding from the mass

organizations only serves to give the lie to their declamations.

In the English press, one cannot find a single report on trade union meetings which reveals even the slightest enthusiasm for the war and for its agitators. On the contrary, each day finds the mass organizations coming forward more definitely to demand, with increasing emphasis, peace between the nations and struggle for the only sacred cause of the working class—their liberation. Up to now, the official Labor leaders have watched this with worried expressions. But now they are passing over to deeds. And what could be more simple: the muzzle for the masses has always been a favorite method of "democratic" deceivers of the people. Citrine and Co. were afraid to explain their step. So they resort more and more definitely to the hint of the police club waiting in the background. They point to a government decree which puts restrictions on trade unions during wars. So far, the Chamberlain Government has not, of its own accord, found it necessary to enforce this decree. Citrine and Company spare the government this job by causing the trade union organizations to destroy themselves as much as possible in accord with all the precepts of English "democracy." The muzzle and the raised police club are the symbols of this war and the "Labor" leaders are the guardians of these symbols of the "democratic" institutions.

Messrs. the Socialists have already gone a long way in a "war for freedom." One would hardly believe it but it is a fact, a fact which

the English workers have every reason to ponder over thoroughly.

Reactionary wars, the aims of which are always alien and hostile to the masses, always lead to an intensified police regime at home and to gag-rule for the masses. Just wars, on the other hand, are always characterized by the initiative and passionate participation of the masses in the political life of the nation. France of the bourgeois revolution, which defended itself in a just war against the reactionary coalition under England's leadership, was imbued with the political activity of the masses themselves. On the other hand, at the same time, England, whose ruling classes had been gripped by ghastly fear of the ideas of the French Revolution, became the scene of the worst muzzling of the people, of the abolition of the right of assembly and the freedom of the press, arbitrary arrests, a heresy hunt against all "reformers," the crassest expression of which was the utterance of that English judge who wanted torture used against rebellious elements. As inappropriate as is an historical parallel between that time and today, nevertheless it is indicative that the English bourgeoisie and its accomplices, the Citrines and Company, resort to the same methods today that the ruling class of England utilized in all unjust wars.

The English working class masses had the opportunity recently of carrying on a just war, conducted for the freedom of a people, for the people of Spain. From the very beginning, this true people's war was accompanied by the feverish political activity of the masses, by full

participation on all questions of the life of the nation at workers' and peasants' meetings, by free development of the power inherent in the people.

The Chinese people who are engaged in a difficult struggle with a materially much superior enemy is constantly drawing tremendous new reserves out of its own political activity, out of the development of the freedom of press and assembly, the mobilization of the broadest sections of the people for the tasks which arise from a just war.

Just wars do not need to shun the free discussion of the masses of people for they are borne by the people themselves; whereas in unjust wars, the masses of people are there only to supply cannon fodder and, for the rest, to keep their mouths shut. For that reason, the English bourgeoisie and the Citrines and Company have every cause to shun the criticism and the free expression of opinion of the masses of people, just as the counterfeiter shuns the close scrutiny of his chosen victim.

The suicide which Citrine and Company recommend to the English trade unions, however, conceals still other consequences in itself. The English financial press is already clamoring for intensified exploitation of the working class masses in order to finance the war. It rants against the movements for higher wages to which the English

working class masses are forced to resort because of the high cost of living, if they are to maintain in any way their previous living standards. The meaning of this campaign of the financial hyenas of the City in London is clear to everyone: The English working class is called upon not only to keep its mouth shut and to die, oh no—above all, it must know how to starve to an ever greater extent. Just as they want the four million English trade unionists voluntarily and unquestioningly to join in the dance of death of this war, so Citrine and Company, in secret conferences with the City, want to dictate to them just how much more they should work and how much less they should eat. Meetings and conferences of the workers would certainly have a disturbing effect here. A precondition for the English imperialists in this war for "freedom" is that the four million English trade unionists who have hitherto been proud of the fact that they were able to discuss their own affairs, settle them themselves and, when necessary, use their own initiative against the trade union bureaucracy, should now transform themselves into an enormous army of recruits in which Citrine voluntarily assumes the role of drill sergeant. The English workers have every reason to keep a strict eye upon these gentlemen.

AUSTRIA AND ANGLO-FRENCH IMPERIALISM

BY F. SCHILLING

THIS is not the first time that Austria has played a significant role in the conflict among the imperialist powers of Europe. In the first World War, the Entente imperialists were intent on destroying the bridge to the Balkans which Austria-Hungary constituted for German imperialism at that time. The Parisian treaties, which were dictated by the victorious powers of that time, were based, among other things, on the old imperialist dictum of divide and rule. Carve up Central Europe so that you can dominate it better. Of course, in the propaganda and in the documents of the victors, another version was used.

Here they spoke only of the liberation of the nations oppressed by the Hapsburgs, of the reconciliation of peoples, of encouraging the small nations and of democracy. These were the words, but the deeds aimed at something altogether different—to play off the peoples of Central Europe against one another and in such a manner as to utilize their national liberation movements for the plans of Anglo-French imperialism.

None of the newly-created states were permitted to develop freely in

an economic and political way; all of them were put in fetters or kept down by dead weights. This was the only way that the French capitalists and the other victors of the first World War considered it possible to keep the peoples of Central Europe in leading-strings and to use them as a bulwark for their imperialist power in the heart of Central Europe against Germany as well as against Soviet Russia. Franco-British imperialism considered it indispensable at that time not only to prevent the reinvigoration of German and Austrian imperialism but also to erect barriers against the revolutionary development in Central Europe and in Germany, barriers primarily against the influence of the victorious Bolshevik October Revolution. The victorious imperialist power rejoiced at the overthrow of the thrones of Vienna and Berlin and yet they feared nothing so much as the free and peaceful concord of the peoples of Central Europe, who were rid of their monarchic despots.

Today, it is necessary to recall these historical facts. It is necessary because, glancing back today at the more than twenty-year old history of these states, we are led to the

conclusion that, from the time of their foundation up to the recent period, these states have always been mere objects in the higgling politics of French and English imperialism. But it is necessary to look back also because Anglo-French imperialism today is once more attempting to use the peoples of Central Europe in the service of its reactionary politics—even if under different circumstances—and again by utilizing their national and political aspirations for liberation.

Invoking the “traditions of democracy” and the alleged “traditional friendship for the small nations,” Paris and London are promising the Austrians national and political freedom should Hitler be overthrown by Anglo-French arms. In face of such “enticements,” it is also necessary to recall what effect the influence of the Anglo-French imperialists have had on the fate of the Austrian working class and the Austrian people since 1918.

The Austrian workers have not yet forgotten that the development of reaction in Austria always occurred under the patronage of the Anglo-French imperialists and the various League of Nations Commissioners. As early as in 1918-19, every revolutionary step of the working class was answered with the threat of stopping the shipments of food supplies, the threat of starving the country. When later, Seipel, under the slogan of cleaning up the “revolutionary rubbish,” made the first breach in the social and democratic rights of the people, the strings behind him were being manipulated by the representatives of the English and French Govern-

ments and the notorious League of Nations Commissioner Zimmerman together with the Austrian bourgeoisie.

Dollfuss' *coup d'état* in March, 1933, and in February, 1934, were greeted with stormy applause in London and Paris precisely by those politicians and newspapers that are today trying most vociferously to ensnare the Austrians with the alleged “anti-fascist and democratic” war aims of Anglo-French imperialism. For them, Austria in 1933 and 1934 was the small change with which they thought they could win Mussolini to their side.

And in February, 1938, when Austria was forcibly annexed by German imperialism, it was Anglo-French imperialism again that was behind this act. In this period, it would have been easy for England and France to help the Austrian people in their struggle for freedom but the rulers in Paris and London did not even think of it; they cold-bloodedly sacrificed Austria and this time as the price of diverting German aggression towards the East.

The British Ambassador in Berlin, Mr. Henderson, himself recommended the seizure of Austria to Hitler and the last financial commissioner of the League of Nations for Austria, Mr. Rost van Toningen, was working in the same direction—the surrender of Austria.

But thanks to the German-Soviet Pact, developments took a different turn from that which Anglo-French imperialism had expected. An entirely new situation arose as a result of the historic turn in Soviet-German relations by means of which war between the two largest

peoples of Europe was avoided. The Soviet-German Pact thwarted the long-prepared anti-Soviet war plans of the Anglo-French imperialists. England and France plunged into war against Germany and suddenly disclosed their love for Czechoslovakia and Austria. These same imperialists who cold-bloodedly surrendered Austria to German imperialism, an Austria whose independence they not only had guaranteed but forcibly brought about, these same imperialists who at Munich betrayed Czechoslovakia to Germany and forced it to capitulate, today proclaim the "liberation" of the Czechs and Austrians.

But the Austrian and Czech people have come to know these "liberators" all too well. They have personally experienced the fact that the promises and guarantees of the English and French imperialists are more ephemeral than the spring snow, that the small nations are nothing more than objects of political higgling as far as England and France are concerned. These experiences have taught them wisdom and they know that what comes from London and Paris is not freedom but simply imperialist diplomacy which regards Austria and Czechoslovakia as parts of a "cordon" against the Land of Socialism. When the English and French imperialists were counting on a war by Germany against the Soviet Union, they tendered Austria and Czechoslovakia to German imperialism. Since the conclusion of the pact between Germany and the Soviet Union, they want to "liberate" Austria and Czechoslovakia again, that is, establish a regime

over them which will assume the obligation of pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for Anglo-French imperialism.

It is exceptionally revealing to note the form of the "freedom" which England and France have in mind for the Czechs. If we look at the forces on which Anglo-French imperialism base their plans in Austria, we meet old, familiar and notorious faces and phenomena. We meet the same people who have long exposed themselves as the enemies of the Austria people, as traitors, murderers of workers and politicians of catastrophe. At the side of the young Otto Hapsburg, of whom it is enough to know that he has been chosen to continue the accursed history of the Hapsburgs in Austria, there stands none other than Prince Starhemberg, the banner-bearer of the London and Parisian "democrats," that prince who, together with similar adventurers, organized the Heimwehr in Austria, who, in the pay of Italian fascism, mowed down the Austrian labor and democratic movement, and whose name is uttered with contempt and loathing by every Austrian.

This man has been chosen to organize an Austrian Legion in England and France. As candidates for the government of "liberated" Austria, which is being prepared by the Parisian and London General Staffs, there stands, beside a few better or lesser-known Hapsburg courtiers, people like Guido Zernatto, former propaganda chief of the anti-Marxist Fatherland Front in Austria, who, after the occupation of Austria, brazenly tried to justify

the bloody suppression of the Austrian labor movement in February, 1934.

A section of the leading clergy who blessed the cannon aimed at the workers in February, 1934; who welcomed the foreign conquerors on bended knee and with the Hitler salute of out-stretched arm; who prevented any unity of the people for the protection of their rights and their national independence for fear of the working class, today, on the instructions of the Vatican and in accord with their mortal enmity towards the Soviet state, are also orientating on Anglo-French imperialism and its war policy.

A change in the Austrian bourgeoisie can be noted. After the entry of the German army, the Austrian bourgeoisie, almost entirely, adopted a "great German" orientation, and strove to secure its share in the pillage of the country. It could no longer expect anything from Italian imperialism, and Anglo-French imperialism had left it in the lurch. But because of class reasons, it categorically rejected any turning to the democratic forces of its own people. Thus, there was nothing left for it to do but to join with the conquerors as well as it could for purposes of common business.

The new situation has now caused sections of the Austrian bourgeoisie to re-examine their attitude. Not only do these capitalists now find support in Anglo-French imperialism, and Italy is also beginning to play a special role again, but this most reactionary part of the Austrian bourgeoisie sees its profits and capitalist rule in general endangered by the German-Soviet Pact.

It is obvious that these capitalists are enemies of the German-Soviet Pact and have every interest in putting the Austrian people to the service of Anglo-French imperialism.

And in this company of black and yellow court lackeys, cast-off Heimwehr leaders and reactionary bourgeois, we also find the "Committee of the Austrian Revolutionary Socialists Abroad." These people in Paris first had to demonstrate their usefulness to the Anglo-French General Staff by a vile barrage of slander against the Soviet Union and the Communists, before it granted freedom to this wretched little group of exiles. From the first to the last line, their newspaper is now a steady stream of anti-Soviet slop. Overnight, they discarded their whole "program." If yesterday they were still deriding the demand for the Austrian people's right of national self-determination with fatuous arrogance, if yesterday they were still praising the annexation as "historical progress," today, they are proclaiming a "Federated Central Europe," that is substantially the monarchistic conception.

We do not intend to become involved in the idle discussion of a "Federated Central Europe" or an "independent Austria." We Communists fight consistently for the right of the Czechs and Austrians for self-determination up to the point of separation, but we refuse to enter into speculations on the future state organization of the states in Central Europe. All that will depend upon the revolutionary requirements and possibilities at

the time to which the working class subordinates all other considerations. However, it is necessary to state that the "Revolutionary Socialists" each time support the most reactionary views of the bourgeoisie, they subordinate the national question to the needs of imperialist world reaction at the given moment.

As long as imperialist world reaction planned on a war by Germany against the Soviet Union, they were supporters of "great Germany" and opponents of the struggle for the independence of Austria. Since the conclusion of the pact between Germany and the Soviet Union, since the unleashing of the imperialist war by England and France, they are for a "Federated Central Europe," they speak of the Austrian peculiarities which only a short time ago they described as an "intervention of the monarchists." As we see, we have here a thorough and speedy reversal of position. Unanimity prevails between the monarchists and the "Revolutionary Socialists," between Starhemberg and Pollak, Zernatto and Richter, and actually we do not find a word of criticism of one against the other in the press of either side.

We have here the same unanimity as that between General Mannerheim and the Finnish, Swedish and other Social-Democratic leaders who are fighting on the side of Anglo-French imperialism against the Soviet Union. The "indignation" which a Starhemberg or Julius Deutsch have in common over the Soviet Union and the Communists is on the same level as the common declarations of solidarity of a

Franco, a Mussolini and the leaders of the bankrupt Second International with the Finnish fascists. And if we go back twenty years into history, we find examples of the same harmony. Did not fraternal harmony also prevail between the Russian Mensheviks, the White-Guard Generals and the imperialist armies of intervention? Did not Karl Kautsky and the then leaders of the Second International spew forth gall and wormwood against "Red Imperialism" because the Georgian workers and peasants, together with their Russian brothers, drove out the imperialist armies of intervention and the White-Guard Generals from the cities and mountains of the Caucasus?

When, in 1914, the Austrian bourgeoisie entered the first imperialist World War on the side of Kaiser Wilhelm, the leaders of Austrian Social-Democracy hailed this as the "day of the German nation"; when a large part of the Austrian bourgeoisie sought their salvation in "Anschluss" after 1918, these same leaders were the most ardent propagandists of Austria's "inability to live." When the "Munichites" received the annexation of Austria with satisfaction, and the Austrian bourgeoisie, with banners flying, adopted "the position of the new historic facts," the leaders of the "Revolutionary Socialists" as well as Karl Renner lauded the annexation as historical progress.

Now, when the reactionary cliques of finance capital, when the Starhembergs, Zernattos, the reactionary princes of the church and the bank magnates are seeking their salvation in Anglo-French imperial-

ism and in the destruction of the German-Soviet Pact, the "leaders" of the "Revolutionary Socialists" change their positions again and serve their new master. While the Communists always subordinate the national question to the tasks of the revolution, these people always orientate themselves, with regard to the national question also, to the policies of those who are their reactionary and imperialist employers at the particular time. They differ from the social imperialists of 1914 and 1918 only in their smaller size and their greater hypocrisy.

It is clear that the interests of the Austrian working class, which has remained true to its revolutionary and internationalist traditions, require a decisive struggle against the hypocritical and criminal war policy of Anglo-French imperialism and all of its reactionary, capitalist, monarchist and Social-Democratic agents, and that it can have nothing in common with these imperialist agents. The Austrian working class has lived through bitter experiences and it will exert all of its energies to see that its striving for freedom is not utilized to incite the peoples against one another and to strengthen the front of world capitalism against the Soviet Union.

To the Austrian workers, the Soviet Union has always been the embodiment of all their hopes and aspirations; this is true today more than ever. The Austrian working class, which in January, 1918, under the direct influence of the socialist October Revolution and the peace slogans of the Bolsheviks, rose up in a mighty revolutionary strike wave against the continuation of

the war, the Austrian working class, which has proclaimed its profound love for the Soviet Union in every situation, sees in the Soviet-German Pact an important means of anchoring the friendship to the Soviet Union deep in the masses of people.

The Austrian working class is not only determined to defend this pact against all Soviet enemies, but it is also determined to arouse a real people's movement for deepening, extending and in every way insuring friendly relations with the Land of Socialism. In their reports from Austria, the Revolutionary Socialist agents of the Anglo-French General Staff must admit that not only the Communists (about whose strength in Austria, the French reactionary press—*Figaro*, *Paris Soir*, etc.—had already complained just before the outbreak of the war) but also the broad masses of class-conscious workers, after the short period of unclarity and confusion, once more "believe in the myth of the Soviet Union," in other words, that their love and profound attachment to the Soviet state have remained steadfast and that they have unshakable confidence in the policies of the socialist Soviet Union led by Stalin.

On the other hand, the same correspondents report that the so-called "Austria Station" installed in Paris is hardly listened to any more in Austria itself because its broadcasts (which as we know serve the monarchist and Anglo-French war propaganda) are uninteresting and what is heard is not worth the danger entailed in listening to it. All this is incomprehensible to the Revolutionary Socialists

in Paris. They think that all this is merely because they, experienced and tested anti-Soviet and Communist baiters, are not permitted to speak, because they are prevented from speaking through the microphone beside the monarchists. Oh, these conceited fools! They ought to know from the experiences of their friend Leon Blum in France that every word from their traitorous mouths only calls forth loathing and disgust among the working class and only induces them to take an even firmer stand on the side of the Soviet Union.

The Austrian working class categorically refuses to be used by Anglo-French imperialism. They have no idea of stopping or giving up their struggle against foreign rule and for the liberation of their country and their own political freedom. But in their struggle, if they, even in the slightest way, orientate themselves to the war policy of the Anglo-French imperialists who are terrorizing and gagging the workers in their own countries today and are abolishing the democratic rights of the people, if they orientate themselves toward those warmongers engaged in setting up a world front of reaction and capital against the world front of socialist freedom, if the Austrian workers orientate themselves toward them and their monarchist and Social-Democratic agents, they will only sink deeper into the war, deeper into national, political and social slavery.

The Austrian working class and the Austrian people can never gain their freedom by a policy which is built up on the establishment of imperialist war fronts and reactionary

bulwarks, the contents of which is the playing-off of one nation against another. On the contrary, the Austrian working class must tie up its own national liberation struggle with the struggle for the speedy ending of the war and the winning of a real and lasting peace. The German toilers must understand that the oppression of the Austrian, Czech and Polish peoples by German imperialism constitutes a serious danger for Germany because it gives rise to a favorable breeding-ground for the reactionary plans of Anglo-French imperialism. The German toilers, and above all the German workers, for the sake of their own interests must support the national struggle of the Austrians, the Czechs and the Poles against national oppression. In this way they will best contribute toward securing vital protection for the German people themselves against the Anglo-French imperialists.

In its struggle, the Austrian working class will depend upon its own strength, on its revolutionary experience, on a firm unity of its class forged from below and on a real people's front of the toiling masses.

Together with the working class of Czechoslovakia and Poland, it will establish a close fighting unity with the German working class in order to thwart, in a common front, the reactionary fraudulent plans of Anglo-French imperialism and to prevent the peoples of Central Europe from being played off against one another. The anti-imperialist policy of the socialist Soviet Union which really serves the peace of

nations and the interests of the toilers of all countries is a powerful aid in this struggle. It is therefore of vital interest not only to the Austrian people but also to all peoples in the present so-called "great Germany" to develop the friendship of these peoples with the Land of the Soviets into a true alliance of the peoples and to combat those forces which oppose such an alliance.

Such a policy and orientation bring the Austrian working class into opposition with the imperialists, warmongers and sworn ene-

mies of the Soviet Union in all countries, but it binds it all the more firmly to the workers and toiling masses in these same countries where these masses are themselves engaged in the struggle today to bring about peace, and who are against the warmongers and imperialist cliques that are enemies of the people.

This policy, which the Austrian Communists are working and fighting indefatigably to realize and to carry to victory, is truly internationalist and, for that very reason, also serves the national interests of the Austrian people.

LIGHT ON MOSCOW*

BY E. LITTLE

IN THE midst of the imperialist war, in the face of the furious incitement of the bourgeoisie and its Social-Democratic lackeys against the Soviet Union, in the face of hysteria, the imposition of censorship, the arbitrary acts, the lies and the slanders, one British writer has courageously raised his voice in order to testify before the British people on the indefatigable struggle against war which the Soviet Union has waged from the day of its birth and which it will continue to wage.

D. N. Pritt, a member of the British Parliament, a distinguished personality in the Labor Party (although in opposition to its official leadership) and at the same time chairman of the Society for Cultural Relations with the U.S.S.R., has, as he states in his book, set himself this task: "to give an explanation of the position and policy of the U.S.S.R., and of the attitude of the British Government to that state" (p 8).

In his introduction, Pritt declares that he is writing for "the man in the blackout." By this, he does not mean that Englishman who today is compelled to spend his evenings in

the darkness of the air-raid alarm, but rather that Englishman who has been left systematically in the dark for two decades on the problems of the Soviet Union, on the problems of British foreign policy and on the problems of the relationship between the Soviet Union and Great Britain. Pritt's primary concern is to uncover the facts in a calm, factual manner. The language of these facts is so convincing and Pritt has so ably allowed the facts to speak for themselves that the magnificent picture of the socialist state, the active fighter for peace, is reflected in his work.

The simple enumeration of all the "incidents" in the relations between the British Government and the Soviet Union after 1921, the year of the collapse of open intervention, has the effect of a single indictment. Like scenes out of an old, half-forgotten film, the countless provocations of the British imperialists during these twenty years run through the reader's memory: in 1923, the ultimatum of Marquess Curzon because of a dispute over fishing rights; in 1924, the incident of the caricature of Sir Austen Chamberlain and the strange appearance of the provocative forged "Red Letter"; in 1927, the police

* D. N. Pritt, *Light on Moscow: Soviet Policy Analyzed*. Penguin Books, Ltd., Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England.

raids on the Soviet trade agency, Arcos, Ltd., which led to the rupture of diplomatic relations and, as Pritt assumes, was intended as the signal for unleashing the war against the Soviet Union.

In this connection, the author of the book also reminds us of all the violations of Soviet frontiers, especially in the Far East. Everywhere you find the hand of British imperialism! Not for a moment during these twenty years has British imperialism given up its hostile plans against the Soviet Union. On the contrary, after the collapse of open intervention, the imperialists continued their struggle in one form or another.

These facts, graphically described by Pritt, today appear like the distant past when we keep in mind the enormous increase in power of the Soviet Union, its international advance. Pritt also points to this in the following words:

"Everyone who has really had the opportunity to investigate it [the Soviet Union] must admit that in industry, agriculture, science, education, aviation, military strength, indeed in almost every branch of human activity, it has in two decades, in the face of almost unexplored difficulties, progressed to an extent which is probably without parallel in the history of the world" (p. 15).

Pritt characterizes the place of the Soviet Union in world politics and its influence on world events. He characterizes the Soviet Union as a "main center of gravity of world politics." Describing the sharpening of the situation in 1931-32, Pritt stresses the fact that it

was due to the Soviet people that humanity was saved from the specter of war at that time. The service of the Soviet people consisted primarily in the fact that they fulfilled the Five-Year Plan ahead of time, in four years, and, by strengthening the Soviet Union, forced the enemy to retreat. Pritt also recalls the words with which Comrade Stalin in 1933 answered the question as to what would have happened if the Soviet people had not fulfilled the Five-Year Plan. There would have been, not a non-aggression pact, but war, a dangerous and deadly war. Pritt adds that the system of non-aggression pacts, "which is the most valuable contribution to diplomacy in the last twenty years, is a Soviet invention" (p. 104).

With the utmost clarity, Pritt reveals how English imperialism during the period from 1934 to 1939 was stubbornly striving to bring about a war-bloc against the Soviet Union, how by its incessant support of aggression (China, Ethiopia, Albania, Spain) it encouraged the outbreak of war. With deep penetration, he describes how events piled up one after the other, how under the mask of "democracy" the English and French imperialists were more and more openly plotting war. The author illuminates the double game of British imperialism during this time: under pressure of the masses who saw in the Soviet Union the sole defender of peace, the British Government had to send political representatives and finally even a military mission to Moscow. It was in such a hurry to join in the peace front proposed by the Soviet Union that it required weeks

and weeks to formulate its proposals and counter-proposals, its suggestions and objections.

At the same time, British imperialism was feverishly striving to fan the flames of war and drag the Soviet Union into the war. And finally the war came—but not that war for which the British imperialists had been longing for twenty-two years, but a war which they themselves must wage.

Reading Pritt's book and recalling the events of those days which came in rapid succession, one understands even better the profound meaning of the words which Comrade Molotov uttered at the twenty-second anniversary of the Great October Revolution:

"We Soviet people have once again shown that we do not dance to others' music."

Since the outbreak of the war, the imperialists have enormously increased their incitement against the Soviet Union. Pritt, who in his book shows the "man in the blackout" by the light of events how British imperialism had prepared the present war, now sets himself the task of ripping apart the thickly woven net of anti-Soviet incitement. Carefully and with great patience, he unravels every single knot of lies and slanders until the true picture of the Soviet Union arises before the reader in all of its luster.

The imperialists accuse the Soviet Union of having deceived the "democracies" and of having sabotaged the establishment of the peace front. Pritt replies to the imperialist hypocrites that it was they and only they who encouraged aggression by their policies; that it was

they and only they who betrayed democracy at Munich; that it was they and only they who were playing a crooked game, displaying the most shameful deceit towards the Soviet Union. Is it "betrayal of democracy" that the Soviet Union was not prepared to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for British finance capital? Was the Soviet Union obligated to wait passively until the English and French imperialists were pleased to break off negotiations? Have the English and French imperialists ever undertaken one serious step in order to realize the peace front? In Munich, perhaps? Or later? Was it not the Soviet Union alone which worked unswervingly at the establishment of such a peace front?

In his book, Pritt also refutes the lies and slanders which were spread against the Soviet Union in connection with the liberating act of the Red Army in the Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia. Today, such a refutation appears superfluous, but it must not be forgotten that in October the entire British press simply kept silent about the political and social liberation of the Western Ukrainians and West Byelo-Russians in order to mislead the working class.

Pritt concludes his book with a succinct and emphatic reference to the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and to the outstanding significance of the Soviet state in the international arena.

Pritt is no Communist. Communists cannot support all of his evaluations and argumentation. The criticism which we must make of his book refers not so much to what

he has written as to what he did not write. At no point in the book is the present war characterized as an imperialist war, a war contrary to the interests of the workers. Pritt still appears to yield to many illusions, primarily the illusion that it is possible to "democratize" the policy of the English and French imperialists. His indictment of British imperialism breaks off on the day that the war breaks out. The reader must get the impression that the crimes of the British and French imperialists can still be "rectified," that these crimes can be chalked up as "escapades" if only they would be ready "to improve themselves" a little. The great lie about the "anti-fascist" character of the present war is insufficiently branded; it is not made sufficiently clear to the reader that English finance capital is incapable of waging an "anti-fascist" war under any circumstances, with or without "democracy." For, if these questions are left in the dark,

one approaches the standpoint of the official Labor leadership which is falsely presenting the imperialist war as an "anti-fascist" war of liberation.

However, it is not these shortcomings that characterize this book. Its great value consists in the fact that it unfolds before the reader the imperialist character of the entire policy of British finance capital. And the author has succeeded so well in this that this alone shows how impossible it is for capitalist Great Britain to wage any other war at present than an imperialist war.

And, finally, Pritt's book is of great importance because it gives expression to the profound hatred of broad sections of the English people for the war, and their profound love for the Soviet Union. This book also is proof that the toiling masses see in the Soviet Union more and more the great power of peace, freedom and the future.

A MARXIST-LENINIST SURVEY OF WORLD POLITICS—
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ENGLAND DRIVES TO A NEW WORLD WAR
An Editorial

THIS IS LEON BLUM
By Maurice Thorez

STALIN ON THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTION
By K. Oldner

STALIN'S TEACHINGS, A LODESTONE TO SPANISH
COMMUNISTS
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